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THE COVENANTERS IN MORAY & ROSS.

BY

REV M. MACDONALD, D.D.

[redacted]

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THE COVENANTERS

IN

MORAY AND ROSS:

BY

REV. M. MACDONALD, D.D.,

ORMOND COLLEGE, MELBOURNE.

(FORMERLY OF NAIRN, N.B.)

With Photo.-Facsimile Map of Moravia, Scotiæ *provincia, ex* Timothei Pont, &c., and Photo.-Lithographs of Cawdor, Kilravock, Brodie, and Inshoch Castles, also of the Village of Auldearn.

Second Edition.

INVERNESS:
MELVEN BROTHERS.

1892.

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TO

THE PATRON,

JOHN ARCHIBALD DUNBAR DUNBAR, ESQ.,

YOUNGER OF SEAPARK,

THE DIRECTORS

AND

MEMBERS

OF THE

FORRES MECHANICS' INSTITUTE AND LIBRARY,

THIS VOLUME

IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED.

PREFACE.

THE following chapters originated in a series of popular Lectures prepared at the request of the Mechanics' Institute of Forres, and delivered in that town, and in Nairn, Inverness, Invergordon, and Elgin. There was no intention of giving them, either a wider publicity, or a more permanent form; but the audiences in the several places having expressed a wish to see my manuscript in print—probably because they felt that the ear required the aid of the eye in following the details of the narrative,—it is now published. The sketch has grown somewhat in the reproduction, but the demands of a laborious pastorate have forbidden any attempt to recast it in a more strictly historic form, or to bestow upon it a treatment worthier of the subject. Whatever its imperfections, I trust that, at the least, the men of Moray and Ross will recognise it as a well-meaning, if feeble, attempt to keep alive the memory of men and of deeds that ought not to be forgotten by us.

I had cherished the hope of being able, some day, to follow up the subject by tracing the history of

religious life and ecclesiastical activity in this district, from the Revolution to the present day, but that hope has now to be abandoned. Perhaps some Moray man better acquainted than I with the district and its memories will take it up.

I gratefully acknowledge the obligations under which James D. Miller, Esq., Forres, the Rev. Gustavus Aird of Creich, and several other friends, have laid me, by kindly permitting me to draw on the stores of their memories and their book-shelves.

M. M.

NAIRN, 24th *July*, 1875.

PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION.

—o—

In response to a request conveyed to me at a public meeting held in Nairn to welcome me back, after an absence of sixteen years, to the scene of my former labours, I have agreed to issue a Second Edition of these Lectures which have been now for several years out of print, but are still inquired for in the North of Scotland. I should have liked to have re-written them, adding a supplementary chapter on the Religious History of Moray since the Revolution, but my visit to Europe, undertaken for purpose of health, being limited, I must content myself with a few corrections and the addition of an explanatory note or two. For the same reason, I must leave the correction of the press to the publishers.

Weston-Super-Mare,
14th September, 1891.

NOTE BY PUBLISHERS.

The publishers have added to this edition a photo.-lithograph of Pont's Map of Moravia (Moray), published about 1654, which covers the district referred to in the Lectures, and on this account will be of interest to the reader. They have also added views of Cawdor, Kilravock, Inshoch, and Brodie Castles, and the village of Auldearn, from photographs by, and with the kind permission of, Messrs Valentine & Sons, Dundee, and Mr Gordon, Nairn.

INVERNESS, *May*, 1892.

ERRATA.

Page 108, line 7, *for* casual *read* causal.
,, 112, ,, 14, *for* wordly *read* worldly.

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THE

COVENANTERS IN MORAY AND ROSS.

CHAPTER I.

Moray in 1638—"No Bishop, no King"—Bishop Guthrie putting on his Sleeves—The Tables—The Covenant and the Earl of Sutherland—Bishop Maxwell conducting Service in the Chanonry of Ross—Letter to the Baron of Kilravock—Andrew Cant's Address at Inverness—Signing the Covenant in Moray—Robert Bruce of Kinnaird—The Clans taking the Covenant—The Bishop Fortifying Spynie—The Glasgow Assembly—Card-Playing and Dancing Bishops—David Prott, the Gillie of Gicht—Sir Robert Munro and his Soldadista—The Carved Screen of Elgin Cathedral—The Solemn League and Covenant—Robert Todd of Rothes, and his Kirk-Session.

MY object in this short course of Lectures is to sketch the history of the Covenanting Cause, as far as it was acted out in Moray or involved the action of Moray men. By Moray, I mean specially the Province so designated—the district of country between the Bogie and the Beauly. I take the liberty, however, of annexing, for the purpose of these Lectures, the adjoining counties of Ross and Sutherland, regarding myself at liberty to roam round the three-horned head of the Firth, from the mouth of the Spey on the South to the Ord of Caithness on the North.

The close connection, social and ecclesiastical, which subsisted, during the period under review, between Moray proper and the neighbouring counties to the north, is my excuse for this act of annexation. For many years the Synod of Moray embraced the United Presbytery of Ross and Sutherland. By the Covenanting Cause, I mean the principles and aims of the party to which the great National Covenant of 1638 gave form and a name. The survey will carry us over half a century—from the adoption of the Covenant to the triumph of its principles in the Revolution of 1688.

Let us go back in imagination, and glance at the Moray of 1638. We meet with the same towns with which we are familiar in the present, but they are smaller, more compact, more picturesque, and, sooth to say, more filthy. Elgin wears a decidedly ecclesiastical look. Its noble Cathedral is, indeed, in ruins, but the great tower in the centre is still standing, and to certain painted rooms therein, Roman Catholics repair to say their prayers, as the excellent Lachlan Shaw testifies.* Forres and Nairn consist, each of a single street, with "closes," or narrow lanes, abutting; and a tolbooth not in the best of repair, protruding into the roadway. In Inverness, two streets cross each other at right angles under the shadow of the Castle, and communicate by a bridge of oak with a straggling suburb on the left bank of the river. Dingwall is a long muddy street of mean houses with their gables

* The Rev. Lachan Shaw was settled as minister of the parish of Kingussie in 1716. In 1719 he was translated to Cawdor, and in 1734 he was settled at Elgin. He resigned his charge as one of the ministers of Elgin in 1774 and died in 1777. His body was interred within the walls of Elgin Cathedral, and in the year 1868 a granite slab was placed in the Chancel of the Cathedral to his memory by a number of friends who recognised the great value of his services as Historian of Moray.

to the roadway, flanked on the north by a marsh, which spreads round the church and the extensive ruins of the stronghold of the proud Earls of Ross. Tain, a compact little town, with an air of importance and substantial comfort, clusters round its Tolbooth and handsome church, on the brow of the terrace overlooking the ruins of St Duthus. Cromarty—a labyrinth of fishermen's cottages, the owners of which can converse fluently in Latin with Sir Thomas, Lord of the Manor,—inclines more to the Southern Sutor than the modern town, and finds itself rather confined between the encroaching sea and the base of the tall, gaunt, keep of the Urquharts. The Chanonry of Ross, a group of manse-like dwellings, seems to divide its allegiance between the towering Castle of Lord Seaforth and the decaying Cathedral, the southern aisle of which is still used as a place of worship. Findhorn is a seaport of considerable importance. Its hardy skippers keep up a brisk trade with Holland, and supply the gentlemen of the Province with strong waters and other commodities of less questionable utility. In Burghead, neither the ancient earthworks, nor the chapel within their lines, have yet been removed. The village itself, consisting of a few cottages, does not seem to prosper much, notwithstanding the annual "Burning of the Clavie,"* and the blessing it invokes. The old castles, which the Moray of 1875 knows only as picturesque ruins, are the dwellings of feudal chiefs and lordly barons. Hearths are as warm in Spynie, Duffus—though in Duffus they seem to have had no chimneys,—Inschoch, Kilcoy, Fairburn, Cullicudden, and Lochslin, as in Brodie, Kilravock, and Cawdor.

* See Appendix, Note A.

Mansions, whose sites cannot be determined in the nineteenth century, are the abodes of happy households. The House of Culbin is still surrounded by its orchard and fertile fields. Families that the Moray of our day has utterly forgotten, are flourishing in the land. An Innes sits in Innes house. Sir Robert Gordon, the premier Baronet of Scotland, having retired from Court, is still living in his new house of Gordonstown. There are Sutherlands at Duffus and Kinsteary; Kinnairds at Culbin; Hays at Lochloy and Park; Falconers at Kincorth, and up to 1600, at Lethen; Dunbars at Dalvey or Grangehill: Urquharts at Cromarty, and at Sancher; Mackenzies at Redcastle; and Baynes at Tulloch. Great stretches of forest run along the upper reaches of the Findhorn and the Spey; but there is little wood on the lower grounds beyond the trees planted round the castles and principal homesteads. The fields are small unenclosed patches, of irregular outline, in the midst of wide breadths of unbroken land. The plough by which they are tilled is a rude wooden implement drawn by oxen, in a zigzag furrow, round and round, without turning. Roads are tolerably numerous, though not so good, probably, as when Dr Clephane wrote a hundred years later, "A certain Lord, having asked a gentleman what great advantages Moray had over other counties, was told, 'Three—forty miles of better road than in most counties; almost always better weather; and only one Lord among them (Lord Moray), and he has no interest or following.'"

The ecclesiastical division of the district into parishes is much the same as in the nineteenth century. The churches, generally, are small, narrow, low-browed structures, roofed with thatch. The Laird of Brodie

enters a resolution in his diary to procure heather "to thack the kirk"—I presume the Church of Dyke. Some of these edifices, however, are older than the Reformation, and bear witness to the taste and skill of the ghostly architects of Rome. The congregations that assemble in them are ministered to by men who love Presbytery, and cling to it, though they are now governed by bishops. George Buchanan's pedantic pupil, acting on his favourite maxim, "No Bishop, no King," has succeeded, at last, in erecting an Episcopal establishment in Scotland, as a buttress to his ancient throne. A prelate sits in Spynie,* as in days of yore: he has not all the power of his lordly predecessors, and he cannot vie with them in state—for his revenues are of the scantiest,—but he is supported by the Courts of High Commission. These terrible creations of arbitrary prerogative claimed jurisdiction over every other Ecclesiastical Court. Any individual might be summoned before them; examined as to his conduct, conversation, and religious opinions; and visited with excommunication, outlawry, fine, and imprisonment, at the discretion of his judges. Yet, hard as James strove, by shuffling intrigue and tyrannic encroachment, to shape the Scottish Kirk into the form and dimensions of Prelacy, it was but the mere frame-work of Episcopacy that he succeeded in rearing. With this, neither he nor his son, who succeeded him in 1625, could rest content. Charles was resolved to have an Episcopal establishment in Scotland, which

* The Palace of the Bishops of Moray. Before the Loch of Spynie was drained there was communication by sea with the Palace. It was a fortalice of considerable strength, and its ruins, picturesquely situated at the head of what once was a lake, still remain and are preserved by the Earl of Fife, to whom the property now belongs.

should be a model even to that of England. In order to this, the doctrine, worship, and polity of the Northern church, down to the attire of her clergy, must be fashioned to the royal ideal, which was as much the style approved by Rome, as Laud, the evil genius of Charles's reign, could secure. But, first, maintenance must be found for the bishops worthy of the rank assigned them. Let the barons be compelled to surrender the broad lands which formed the ancient patrimony of the Church. More easily said than done. The nobles resisted the measure with such desperate resolution, that it had to be incontinently abandoned. It left behind it, however, a legacy of bitter hatred of the bishops, which they themselves did their utmost to foster, by their arrogance and ambitious grasping at offices of State.

On his first visit to Scotland, Charles gave his soul to the question of clerical millinery, with all the devotion of an advanced ritualist of the present day. Vestments, perfect to hem and fringe, were exhibited to the admiration of the stern disciples of Calvin, and enjoined to be worn by every Mess John of them, from Maidenkirk to John o' Groats. A certain John Guthrie, who hailed from the Castle of Spynie, was the first to adorn himself in the new robes. He "put on his sleeves," in the presence of the king, in the High Church of Edinburgh, declaring, with an unnecessary exuberance of zeal, "that he would be yet more vile to please the king"—a speech which he was not allowed to forget, as perhaps we shall see. Three years later was issued the "Book of Canons," by which the king's supremacy in matters of conscience was assumed in its fullest extent, and the whole fabric of

Presbytery levelled with the dust. Another northern prelate, John Maxwell, Bishop of Ross—a man of undoubted ability, but haughty, intriguing, and greedy of power,—had a chief hand in framing this new constitution for the Church of Scotland, under the supervision of "his little Grace of Canterbury." Letters in reference to this book from Laud, and Juxon, Bishop of London—the same who stood beside the poor king when he came to lay his neck on the block in front of Whitehall,—may be read in the Appendix to Baillie's Letters. In one of these epistles Juxon says:—"With your letter I received your book of Canons, which perhaps, at first, will make more noise than all the cannons in Edinburgh Castle." The good bishop was right. The new artillery—the episcopal spelling makes no difference between canons ecclesiastical and cannons military—did prove eminently resonant and explosive, though not so much so as another piece which the Bishop of Ross had the honour of bringing down to Scotland from the arsenal of Canterbury, in the following year, 1638. This was the Liturgy or Service-Book, which the king's paternal solicitude for the welfare of his northern subjects had provided for their help in prayer. The performances of this new ordnance rather astonished its inventors. The attempt to discharge it blew gun-carriage, embrasure, and case-mate, all to pieces; scattering the affrighted gunners in every direction. The nation was Presbyterian to the core.

From the continued friction of the royal efforts to introduce Episcopacy there resulted a highly electric state of popular feeling. A trivial incident might cause an explosion. Dr Hanna, Dean of Edinburgh, began

to read the service in St Giles'. Jenny Geddes, the old herb-woman—or else Mrs Mein, the merchant's wife, according to Wodrow,—sent her stool flying through the air in the direction of the dean's reverend head; and the nation, rising as one man, threw itself, with a shout of enthusiasm, on the newly-built walls of Episcopacy, and razed them to the ground. We must not regard this as a mere outburst of democratic fury. The scared Prelatists thought the people mad, yet they could not but admit there was method in their madness. There was, indeed, a great deal of method. Witness the organisation of the Tables—that remarkable executive of four committees, representing the burghers, the gentry, the ministers, and the nobles. Witness also the spirit and tact with which they wrought together in defence of their rights. Thanks to the king's impolitic treatment of the aristocracy, and to the arrogance of the bishops, the majority of the nobles of Scotland were ready to take their natural place as leaders of the people. Among them were patriots of high principle and great talent, God-fearing men, wise in council and energetic in action. A strikingly large proportion of their number were ardent young men, able and ambitious, eager for position and distinction. At least one nobleman from the north of the Grampians was there, and none was purer in motive than he,—the good Earl of Sutherland.

With the precedents of 1557 and 1581, or, as they themselves would rather say, with the precedents of Israel's national engagements to the Lord, before them, it was natural that the Tables should have recourse to a Covenant, binding the nation to be true to God, and to itself, in defending its liberties. After due deliber-

ation, they drew up and subscribed the famous National Covenant of 1638. Its projection was a masterstroke of leadership. It consists of three parts. The first is a simple reproduction of the Covenant of 1581—an explicit, and most energetic abjuration of the several tenets of the Romish system. The second is a recapitulation of the Acts of Parliament which condemned Popery, and ratified the Acts of the General Assembly. The third is the practical application of the whole to the existing circumstances of the nation—a document of great ability, full of fire and vigour. Its author, in all probability, was Alexander Henderson, minister of Leuchars,—a man in whom impartial historians recognise a statesman of the highest order. Assuming that the Episcopacy of the Book of Canons and the Liturgy is incipient Popery—the tadpole, so to speak, of the bloated frog of the Pontine Marshes,—this historic instrument binds all who subscribe it to adhere to the Protestant faith, as stript of the recent innovations; to labour, by all means lawful, to recover the purity and liberty of the Gospel, as it was established and professed before their introduction; to resist all contrary error and superstition to the utmost of their power, all the days of their life; and, at the same time, to be loyal to the person, majesty, and authority of the king, and faithful to one another in the defence and preservation of the true religion, liberties, and laws of the kingdom. Liberty to be loyal to the God of truth and Lord of the conscience, is the great principle on which the Covenant insists. In the estimation of its authors, that is the grand contention—the main thing to be claimed—a claim to be struggled for to the death. The privileges of civil freedom are sub-

ordinated to this "one thing needful," but they are by no means overlooked. The right of the subject to the enjoyment of law regulated liberty in things social and civil, is clearly enunciated and vigorously claimed.

The National Covenant of 1638 is the Magna Charta of Scotland. Lord Loudon gave expression to its animating spirit and fundamental principle, when, speaking for himself and his fellow-subscribers, he told the Royal Commissioner, that they "knew no other bands between a king and his subjects but those of religion and the laws." "If these are broken," he said, "men's lives are not dear to them; threatened we shall not be; such fears are past with us." The Covenant banded the people together, in defence of their inalienable birthright of religious and civil freedom, against the arbitrary encroachments of a throne that acknowledged no control, and submitted to no limitation. It inaugurated a determined struggle against the oppressor. For fifty long years, it held the intellect and the moral strength of Scotland marshalled in resolute opposition to a false, a cruel, a licentious tyranny. The ranks of the patriots were often broken; but,

> "Freedom's battle once begun,
> Bequeathed by bleeding sire to son,
> Though baffled oft, is ever won."

Through much blood, and many tears, and widespread desolation, the blue banner of the Covenant was borne at length to victory. The Revolution Settlement planted it on the summit of the reconstructed edifice of the British Constitution, its sacred "bands" binding the "guarantees" of Runnymede into one common symbol of religious and civil liberty.

I need not describe the signing of the Covenant in the Greyfriars Church and churchyard of Edinburgh, on the 1st of March 1638. It is imprinted on the memory of every reader of our history. We claim for the shores of the Moray Firth the honour of giving the first signature to the Covenant. It was that of Scotland's premier Earl, the venerable Lord of Dunrobin.* After him thousands on thousands signed, before the sun went down on that short spring day. In the minds of some of these subscribers doubts sprang up afterwards as to whether they did right in signing; but at the time they had no doubts or scruples: if there were any who hesitated to sign, their hesitation yeilded to the general enthusiasm. Copies of the Covenant bearing the signatures of the leading peers, were despatched to all parts of the country, and signed by all ranks of the community. In two months, all Scotland was banded under the Covenant, Moray and the North included. Special attention, indeed, was paid to the North. For this, it was indebted to our acquaintance, the Bishop of Ross. Instead of fleeing "furth of Scotland," in fluttering panic, as several of his colleagues had done, when the introduction of the Liturgy was checked in St Giles', Maxwell retired to his diocese, determined to accomplish at Fortrose what could not be achieved in Edinburgh. In the Chanonry of Ross, if nowhere else, the new ceremonial would be becomingly observed, and everything done according to high Episcopal order. The little burgh, basking dreamily in the sunshine around his Cathedral, would offer no rude interruption. Besides, had he not smoothed the way for the introduction of the Service-Book by using the English

* The Seat of the Sutherland Family.

Liturgy for two whole years? The bishop reckoned without his host. A spirit had been aroused whose strength he had failed to gauge. The boys attending the Academy will curb the zeal of my lord, if none other will.

On Sunday morning, 11th March, when he was preparing, in proper person, to conduct the service according to the new ritual, "the scholars" burst into the Cathedral, seized the copies of the Service-Book which had been placed on the desks, and carried them off to Chanonry Point, to burn them there, as a spectacle to the surrounding country. A passing shower extinguished the fire which they carried with them for the purpose, and they contented themselves with tearing the books to pieces, and casting the fragments into the Frith.* The bishop had sufficient presence of mind to proceed with the service, independent of the new Prayer-Book, as if nothing had happened; but no sooner was the sermon, which was of the shortest, finished, and the benediction pronounced, than he hastened across the ferry, rode hard by Nairn and Forres, and rested not till he reached Spynie, where he took refuge with his brother prelate, John Guthrie of Moray. After consultation with the Marquis of Huntly, "he fled disguised over the Mounts," as Baillie expresses it, and made his way to Court. Burning with resentment against the Covenanters, Maxwell urged the king to extreme measures. He strongly recommended the raising of the Northern clans, whom he represented as sure to take the side of the throne. In conjunction with the Cavaliers of the South, they would form a party sufficiently powerful to check

* Spalding.

the still gathering strength of their opponents; and all might yet be retrieved, if proper measures were promptly taken. The Tables, who had their emissaries everywhere, even in the bed-chamber of the king, took the hint, and resolved to be beforehand with the bishop and his royal master. Baillie says:—"Diligence was used to send some lawyers to the uttermost north, to obtain the hands of all the clans to the Covenant of the country." A commission was despatched forthwith, but it was by no means confined to lawyers. It consisted, as a letter in the Charter-Chest of Kilravock informs us, of the Earl of Sutherland, Lord Lovat, the Master of Berriedale, the Lairds of Grant, Balnagown, and others,—"barones and gentlemen of qualitie." The commission was accompanied by Andrew Cant, minister of Pitsligo—a man whose bold and energetic advocacy of the National Bond obtained for him, among Norland men, the designation of the Apostle of the Covenant. The Cavaliers have avenged themselves on their sturdy opponent, by handing his name down to posterity as a synonym for all that is insincere, hypocritical, and sanctimonious in speech—a gross injustice to the worthy man, than whom there was none more honest and single-minded among the public characters of the day.

The letter just referred to, was addressed to Hugh, twelfth Baron of Kilravock, by the Covenanting leaders, informing him of the appointment and purpose of the Commission, and requesting him to meet them in Inverness on the 25th of April. "Right worshipful and loving friend," say the noble Lords, of whom the first to sign is Montrose, in good, legible half-text, "we did write unto you, that, in consider-

ation of the weighty business in hand (whereby our religion, laws, and liberties, are in evident danger), you would repair to Edinburgh with all convenient speed, that you might be truly informed of the estate of our affairs, and give your concurrence and advice how these innovations of the Service-Book, High Commission, canons, and other abuses, so much threatening the overthrow of religion and law, might be removed. And now, having thought it a fitter way for your ease, and sparing your pains in so long a journey, to send some of our number from this to meet at Inverness,"—then follows the commission:—"We do earnestly desire that you will be pleased to be present at the said meeting, where our Commissioners will treat with you in all respective (respectful) manner, informing you truly how legally we have proceeded from the beginning; what cause we have had to maintain religion according to the pattern of our worthy and pious Reformers; with what respect to the person and authority of his sacred Majesty, and obedience to the laws and statutes of his kingdom, made in favour thereof; and to clear all doubts and scruples that may arise in the mind of any man not truly informed, nor conceiving aright of these matters. Our hope is, that these weighty considerations are sufficient motives to induce you to keep this meeting, and take such impression, that you will prefer the cause thereof to all worldly respects, and that your determinations and resolutions, taken herein, shall express and include in them your zeal to the purity of religion, your love to your native country, and maintenance of the laws we have happily lived under. Whereof being confident, we will remain your sincere, affectionate friends."*

* Kilravock Papers—Spalding Club—p. 321.

This high-toned missive appears to have been a circular addressed to all the gentlemen of the North, (there is another copy, directed to the Right Worshipful the Laird of Park, in the Kilravock Charter-Chest,) and it would seem to have had the effect of bringing a large number of them together, to meet the Commissioners, who arrived in Inverness on the day appointed. The municipal authorities convened, and the whole community was assembled by tuck of drum. Cant then delivered a racy and spirited address, in which he referred with exultation to the enthusiasm with which the Covenant was subscribed throughout the country, and urged his audience "to come into the bond." "Who thought to have seen such a change in Scotland," said the fervid divine, "when all second causes were posting a contrary course—when proud men were boasting, and saying, 'Bow down, that we may go over,' and we laid our bodies as the ground, and as the streets to them that went over. But now, behold one of God's wonders! So many of all ranks taking the honour and cause of Christ to heart—all unanimously, harmoniously, and legally, conjoined as one man in supplications, protestations and declarations, against innovations and innovators, corruptions and corrupters. Behold and wonder! That old Covenant, once and again solemnly sworn and perfidiously violated, is now again happily renewed, with such solemnity, harmony, oaths, and subscriptions, that, I dare say, this hath been more real and true in thee, O Scotland, these few weeks bygone, than for the space of thirty years before. . . . . .
The Lord is calling the great ones to put too their shoulder and help His work. He hath been in the

South, saying, 'Keep not back;' and, blessed be God, they have not. He hath now sent to the North, saying, 'Give up; bring my sons from far, and my daughters from the ends of the earth.' Contend for the faith once delivered to Scotland. There is but one Lord, one faith, one cause that concerns all. Though this north climate be cold, I hope your hearts are not. . . Come and help to build the old wastes, that ye may be called the repairers of the breach, and then shall all generations call ye blessed. Be not like the nobles of Tekoa, of whom Nehemiah complained that they would not put their necks to the work of the Lord. Be not like Meroz, whom the angel of the Lord cursed bitterly for not coming to the help of the Lord against the mighty." With a good deal more of impassioned exhortation, redolent of Scripture allusion, delivered in a strain of rugged and characteristic eloquence.*

At the conclusion of the address the whole town subscribed the Covenant, with the exception of the minister, William Cloggie, and a few others. At Forres the whole Presbytery subscribed, with the exception of George Cumming, minister of Dallas. On the 30th of April the Commissioners came to Elgin, where they were equally successful. The municipal authorities and town's people all signed; the minister, again, being the only recusant—an offence which the Synod, some time after, visited with deposition. Throughout the whole district north and south of the Frith "the hands of the clans" were obtained to the Covenant of the country. It would appear, indeed,

* "Collection of Several Remarkable and Valuable Sermons, etc., at Renewing and Subscribing the National Covenant of Scotland." Glasgow, 1741.

that the cause was taken up with great ardour. "It was professed by all," says the Earl of Rothes, "that it was the joyfullest day that ever they saw, or ever was seen in the North; and it was marked as a special mark of God's goodness towards these parts, that so many different clans and names, among whom was nothing before but hostility and blood, were met together in one place for such a good cause, and in so peaceable a manner, as that nothing was to be seen and heard but mutual embracements, with hearty praise to God for so happy a union." The fact was certainly noteworthy.

It does not surprise us to learn that the people of Sutherland, of Easter Ross, of Nairn and Moray, and of the town of Inverness, entered into the Covenant with alacrity. There were many in those districts in full sympathy with the cause which the Covenant represented. When King James banished to Inverness one who was far more a king of men than himself —the celebrated Robert Bruce of Kinnaird, ancestor of the Abyssinian traveller, and of our late venerable neighbour, Mrs Cumming Bruce of Dunphail,—it was certainly not with the intention of depositing a leaven of evangelical religion in the heart of our cold, dark Highlands. Yet so it was. For a period of ten years in all—first, from 1605 to 1613, and then, from 1622 to 1624, only fourteen years before the signing of the Covenant,—in the face of much opposition, and even hot persecution, this truly apostolic man laboured earnestly in the Gospel among the benighted people to whom the rage of the enemies of the Truth had sent him. "He preached every Lord's day forenoon and every Wednesday," we are told, "and read and ex-

horted at prayers every evening. Many were converted, and multitudes edified." His labours were not confined to Inverness. We find him supplying a pulpit occasionally in the neighbourhood. He preached in the Church of Forres at the request of the magistrates and people, for some months, during a vacancy. This was probably between the death of Mr John Straiton, in the Castle of Inverness, to which he had been confined by order of the Privy Council, "for teaching against the order of bishops, in the hearing of Alexander, Bishop of Moray," and the appointment of Archdeacon Tulloch, in July 1613. We know, also, that Bruce spent some time in the Chanonry of Ross. My honoured friend, the Rev. Gustavus Aird of Creich —a man whose acquaintance with the social and ecclesiastical history of this district is singularly minute, accurate, and extensive, writes me:*—"I had a tradition, forty years ago, from worthy Hector Home of Invergordon, which astonished me much for years, viz., 'that people were in the habit of going to Inverness to hear Robert Bruce, from Sutherland and Ross, every Sabbath, across ferries, and rivers without bridges;' and twenty years ago I found it verified in Blair's Autobiography; and it would not surprise me," adds Mr Aird, "although they walked from Forres and Nairn also to hear Mr Bruce." Without doubt, the good seed sown along our shores by this eminent man of God prepared the way for the Covenant. Then, the Sutherland family, and the two leading families of Easter Ross—the Munroes and the Rosses,—were warm supporters of Evangelical Presbyterianism ever since the Reformation. Their sympathy with the cause of reli-

* 1874.

gious freedom led several cadets of these noble houses across the German Ocean, to the support of Gustavus Adolphus in his struggle with the Catholic League; and such of them as lived to return did the Covenant good service. These clans, in all their septs and branches, arrayed themselves on the side of the Tables. In our own immediate neighbourhood, Alexander Brodie of Brodie—or Lord Brodie, as he was usually called because of his elevation to the Bench as a Lord of Session;—his cousin, the Laird of Lethen, and several other proprietors of the name; the Laird of Grant, ancestor of the Earl of Seafield; Dunbar of Westfield, hereditary Sheriff of the county of Elgin; Innes of Innes; Hay of Lochloy and Park; Kinnaird of Culbin; the Baron of Kilravock; and many other gentlemen of quality,—the whole landed interest of Nairn and Moray, with few exceptions, signed the Covenant. I have not been able to ascertain whether the Earl of Moray did, but there are circumstances recorded which render it probable that he was among the signitaries, although he could not be counted on as a steady friend of the cause. There is no doubt whatever that Colin, the Tutor of Cawdor, then at the head of his house, was a zealous Covenanter. There is good ground to conclude that many of those gentlemen of Moray were supporters of the Covenant from religious, as well as patriotic, principle. There were others whose subsequent conduct showed that they were not hearty in the cause. Multitudes, no doubt, gave in their adhesion simply because the Covenant was, for the time, in the ascendant. It is thus, I suspect, we must account for the fact—as startling to us as it must have been disquieting to the bishop of Ross,—that so many of

the clans on whom he counted, the Mackenzies, the Mackays, the Macintoshes, the Macleans, the Macdonalds, arrayed themselves under the banner of the Covenant. One would have thought that they were shut out, not only by their mountains, but by their language, from all sympathy with the Lowlands and their ideas. The simple explanation is that they followed their chiefs like faithful retainers, and that their chiefs followed a policy of expediency. The Seaforth of the day is thus described by the partial pen of a family genealogist:—"This George, being a nobleman of excellent qualifications, shared in the fortunes of his prince, King Charles I., for whom he suffered all the calamity in his estate that envious and malicious enemies could inflict."* History, however, tells a somewhat different tale. The Mackenzie's heart was, I suppose, with the king; but he appears to have acted on the principle of taking whichever side fortune inclined to favour; and a fine reputation he made for himself by his tergiversations, as perhaps we shall see. Lord Reay was a Royalist at heart, but took the Covenant. There were others who followed the prudent policy exemplified by some of our Highland chiefs in the Jacobite rebellions of the following century—the head of the house supporting the one side, and the heir-expectant the other. It was difficult, indeed, if not impossible, to remain neutral; but it does not appear that any in our district were coerced into subscription. The nearest approach to coercion was made by the old drummer of Inverness, who proclaimed the obligation of signing, with the alternative of heavy

* The Genealogy of the Mackenzies prior to 1661. Written in the year 1669 by a Person of Quality (the Laird of Applecross). Dingwall. 1843.

penalties. It is interesting to notice, as indicating the healthful tone of the public conscience, that it was deemed expedient to apologise for this outrage on the liberty of the subject, on the ground "that the officer, being accustomed to denounce legal penalties against defaulters, had followed routine and custom on the occasion, without reflecting on the peculiar character of the demand."* Had there been anything more serious than the drummer's threatenings to record, Spalding would not have overlooked it.

With the exception of the Marquis of Huntly, the chief of the Gordons, whose territorial influence secured Strathbogie, Badenoch, and Lochaber for the king and the bishops, there were very few in our district to declare for their cause. At this distance, the eccentric figure of Sir Thomas Urquhart of Cromarty, the learned translator and disciple of Rabelais, is certainly the most conspicuous. The unlooked-for success of the Covenant greatly astonished Bishop Guthrie; but, having apparently caught the warlike spirit of his Papal predecessor, the architect of "Davie's Tower," he forthwith began, as Spalding tells us, "to furnish the house of Spynie with all necessary provision, men, and meat, ammunition, and powder and ball, as he foresaw great troubles to follow." The troubles did follow speedily, but the bishop's preparations for the storm availed him little.

The summer and autumn which succeeded that spring season, so busy with Covenant signing over the land, were spent in negotiations between the king and the Tables, conducted with much anger and dissimulation on the one side, and outspoken firmness on the

* Burton's History of Scotland, Vol. vi. Rothes Relation.

other. At length, gloomy November came round, and with it the famous Assembly convened at Glasgow; which Charles consented should be held, when he found that the Covenanters were determined to hold it, whether he would or not. With its history we are concerned now, only, as far as that history concerns the Province of Moray. We find a fair representation of the ministers and elders of the Province on its roll. It would be interesting to give the full list; but for this I must refer you to Stevenson's History, and other authorities. One of the Moray deputies—a member of the Presbytery of Forres—obtained honourable mention from the moderator, Alexander Henderson. John Hay, minister of Rafford, produced, on the 7th December, a "Censure of the Service-Book," which he had written. "The Moderator," we are told, "received it with all thankfulness, saying, 'Ye may see that the same spirit which breathes in the South, blows also in the North; and as some of our revered brethren about Edinburgh and the South hath contributed to this, so also some in the North hath not been idle.'" The Assembly ordered this production, and some others on the same subject, to be printed, but Baillie's "Treatise" was the only one that reached the press.*

Another Morayshire minister, William Falconer of Dyke, was one of a committee of thirteen, appointed to consider and report on the complaints against the bishops. He lived to be a warm partisan of the prelates. To this business of reckoning with the bishops, the Assembly addressed itself with grave deliberation and calm observance of forms, but none the less with firm resolve to make short work of their lordship's

* Baillie's Letters.

pretensions. The Bishop of Ross, who stood behind the throne, whispering in the Commissioner's ear, until the Representative of Royalty withdrew after a vain attempt to dissolve the House, received special attention. By the way, the rupture with the civil power so frightened Lord Brodie's uncle, Joseph Brodie, minister, at that time, of Keith, but afterwards of Forres, that he fairly ran away. "It was proven," writes the minister of Kilwinning to his cousin, Robert Spang, minister at Campvere, in Holland, "that two years ago the Bishop of Ross was a public reader, in his house and Cathedral, of the English Liturgy; that he was a bower at the altar, a wearer of the cape and rotchette, a deposer of godly ministers, and an admitter of fornicators to communion; a companier with Papists, ane usual carder on Sonday; yea, instead of going to thanksgiving on a communion day that he called for cards to play at the Beast; had often given absolution; consecrated deacons; robbed his vassals of 40,000 marks; keeped fasts ilk Friday; journeyed usually on Sonday; had been a chief decliner of the Assembly, and a prime instrument of all troubles, both of Church and State. Of *his* excommunication no man made question."*

Cast out by the Church of Scotland, Maxwell retired to England, and became one of the Court preachers. He had the ear of the king, and there can be little doubt that Charles's stubborn resolution to push matters to extremities was due, in a great degree, to the influence of the northern prelate. He gave vent to his resentment against the Covenanters by publishing, some time after this, an able but bitter diatribe, which

* Baillie's Letters.

he called "The Burden of Issachar." I presume his vaulting ambition was at last satisfied, for he died Archbishop of Tuam. And yet we must not part with him without cheerfully acknowledging that Maxwell was a man of a noble type. His dignity, learning, and consummate ability command our respect, and his deep and constant devotion to his royal master our admiration. We would fain forget his ambition when we think of the manner and the cause of his death. On the 14th February 1646, tidings were brought to him of the overwhelming disasters which had overtaken his sovereign. In deep distress of mind, he retired to his closet, where he was found dead, in the attitude of prayer.

Guthrie of Moray met with rather more tenderness at the hands of the Assembly than did his brother of Ross. "He had all the ordinar faults of a bishop," says Baillie, "but because he was not formally summoned, the moderator, with some piece of violence, keeped him back from that sentence (excommunication), and when some objected publicly his partialitie, he assured he had no reason, for of all the bishops he had been to him most injurious." Of course, as a prelate, he could not escape deposition, as it had been resolved to remove Episcopacy, root and branch; but the question of excommunication would never have been mooted, but for his conduct in the Church of St Giles on the occasion of the introduction of the vestments. It looks, indeed, as if the Assembly could not get over that. An act was passed appointing him, under pain of excommunication, "to make public repentance" in the place where he had so notoriously exhibited his zeal for the surplice. As he did not comply, the sentence was duly carried

into effect where the offence had been given; so that he did not escape excommunication after all. The charges brought against him in the Assembly are curious:—"He was a common rider on Sabbath, a pretty dancer. At his daughter's bridal he had danced in his shirt; he had conveyed some gentlewomen to a chapel, near his church, to do penance, all barefoot. When riding from the Church on Sunday, he was asked to stay all night as it was the Sabbath. He answered, he would borrow that piece of the day from God, and be as good to Him some other gate." If these things are true, and Baillie suspects they were not sufficiently proved, Guthrie must have been rather a gay and profane man—anything but an example of devout reverence to his diocese; yet it is only due to him to note that he contrasts very favourably with the majority of the prelates whom the Glasgow Assembly dragged from their Episcopal thrones. Another northern dignitary who suffered by sentence of the Assembly was Thomas Mackenzie, Archdean of Ross. He was deposed for many foul crimes, such as fornication, drunkenness, etc.

While the Covenanters were occupied thus in abolishing Episcopacy, Charles was moodily planning revenge. Both parties saw that the quarrel must be submitted to the arbitrement of the sword, and both were straining every nerve to prepare for the inevitable struggle. The first collision of the war which cost Charles his life, as well as his crown, occurred on our Moray sea-board. The Glasgow Assembly had brought its work to a close in the short days of December, and, in January, Gordon of Knockespock was despatched by Huntly to seize the Castle of Inverness for the

king. In the neighbourhood of the town he was met by the inhabitants of the Highland capital, assisted by several Covenanting gentlemen under the command of Fraser of Strichen, who compelled him to render up the arms and provisions with which his party intended to hold the castle, and to return home. This was the first occasion on which the two parties confronted each other with hostile intent, but there does not appear to have been any bloodshed. The "dance of death" may be said to have fairly opened on the 13th of May 1639, with "the Trot of Turray"—that paltry affair which reflects so little credit on the vigilance and courage of the Covenanters,—or rather, three days earlier, with the assault made by Sir Thomas Urquhart of Cromarty, and his friends, on the house of Barclay Towie, when David Prott, servant to the Laird of Gicht, was killed by a shot fired by the besieged. David Prott, the gillie of Gicht, heads the ghastly procession of thousands on thousands of gallant men, for whose blood Charles Stuart was reckoned with at Westminster and Whitehall.

Between them, the Royalist Gordons and the Covenanters kept the shires of Aberdeen and Banff in a very lively state during the years 1639 and 1640; but the Province of Moray was comparatively tranquil. By favour of Shaw and Spalding and the Parson of Rothiemay, we see enough of the condition of affairs to cure the most rabid Tory among us of any hankering after "the good old times." We see Committees of Covenanting gentlemen—among whom we recognise our Moray friends, Seaforth, Brodie, Innes, Grant, the Tutor of Cawdor and others, meeting once and again at Turriff, and dispersing in rather undignified haste.

We see the same gentlemen, well mounted, with a good force at their back, riding to the help of their friends, the Forbeses and the Frasers of Aberdeenshire, but, apparently, coming in for very little fighting. We see a body of four thousand men, under the command of Seaforth, the Master of Lovat, the Master of Reay, George, brother of the Earl of Sutherland, Sir James Sinclair of Murckle, the Laird of Grant, young Kilravock, Dunbar the Sheriff of Moray, the Laird of Innes, the Tutor of Duffus, Hugh Rose of Auchnacloich, and John Munro of Lumlair, encamped near Elgin, to keep "the gay Gordons" from entering Moray. They must have kept their watch but ill, for the Gordons crossed the Spey, with a thousand foot and three hundred horse, and took up a position before sunrise, above Lhanbryde. The Covenanters, being averse to fighting, sent Innes forward to treat, and an agreement was entered into that neither party should any more cross the Spey, to the injury of the other. We see again an army of five thousand men under Seaforth and Reay, hanging back about Ross and Inverness, while the Covenanters of Aberdeenshire are hard pressed by the Gordons. We see the wife of the Bishop of Ross stealing away from the Episcopal residence at Fortrose, which she considers no longer safe, to take shelter with her brother in the more retired Parsonage of Rothiemay. Let us hope the good lady did not find the change an exemplification of the vulgar adage, "Out of the frying-pan into the fire." We see General Robert Munro of Obsdale, in Easter Ross, a pupil of "the Snow-king," despatched by the National Government, consisting now of the Covenanting leaders, to reduce the disaffected districts of the North. We hear the

anti-Covenanting Burghers of Aberdeen groaning under the heavy requisitions which he exacts of them as thank-offerings for benefits that they do not appreciate. We note the admirable, and, sooth to say, severe discipline which he enforces, and wonder whether the "timmer-mare" which he has imported from Germany for "runagate knaves and runagate soldiers to ride," effectually helps it. We observe how the Marchioness of Huntly hastens to deliver up to him the Keys of her castle as soon as he appears at her gates; and how, during his protracted stay in Strathbogie, the country people fraternise most amicably with his "Soldadista," as he pedantically terms them. We see him set out, on one occasion, with a party of picked men, crossing the Spey, and appearing before Spynie. The gallant bishop fortified the Castle, as we have seen, intending to hold it against the Covenanters; but when he sees Munro he thinks better of it, and surrenders at discretion. Placing a garrison in the castle, Munro permits the bishop to remain there with his family, on promise to appear when called for. Shaw says:—"Guthrie retired to his paternal estate in Angus;" but that must refer to a subsequent date, as we find Munro carrying him with him when he retired from the North, and delivering him up to the committee of Estates, by whom he was committed to the Tolbooth of Edinburgh. He took the Covenant at last, and petitioned the Assemblies of 1641 and 1642 to reinstate him in the First Charge of Elgin; but, though the whole Synod of Moray backed his suit, and the Assembly was not unwilling, the opposition of the patron, Duffus, rendered it impossible to grant it.

As we now part with General Munro, the following

quotation from Doddridge's account of the "Ancient Family of the Munroes," may not be out of place:—"General Robert Munro, who was uncle to Sir Robert, twenty-fourth Baron of Fowlis, published, in 1644, an account of the religious war under Gustavus Adolphus, in a folio volume, entitled 'Military Discipline, learned from the Gallant Swede,' a book filled with the most excellent observations on military affairs, delivered in a strain of piety which seems to breathe the spirit of its brave and worthy author. This worthy General was, in 1641, appointed by King Charles I. Major-General of the Scottish forces that went to Ireland to suppress the infamous rebellion there. . . . The General was a great favourer of the Presbyterian interest, and among the first who established it in Ireland. He sat in their Presbyteries and Synods, and adhered to the interest of the Parliament till he apprehended they were carrying matters to an excessive height against the king; on which he accepted a commission from him, and acted under the Duke of Ormond, to which he was persuaded by his nephew, Sir George Munro, who had always adhered to the interest of Charles I., as he afterwards did to that of Charles II."

The Assembly of 1640, which met at Aberdeen, passed an Act for the abolition of idolatrous monuments throughout the country. Incited by this, the Laird of Brodie and his brother-in-law, the young Laird of Innes, repaired to Elgin on the 28th of December, and with the aid of Gilbert Ross, minister of the parish, tore down the carved screen in the Cathedral, which divided the church from the chancel, and on the sides of which were paintings of the Crucifixion and the Day of Judgment. Spalding waxes eloquent over the

beauty of these works of art, and denounces their destroyers with great energy. He is careful to inform us, that when Mr Ross carried the timber home to use it as kitchen fuel, the fire each night got extinguished, and could not be kept in till morning. "Whairat," says our garrulous chronicler, "the servandis and utheris marvallit, and thairupone the minister left of, and forboor to bring in or burne ony more of that tymber in his hous. This was markit, spred throwe Elgyne, and crediblie reportit to myself." I suppose we could all wish that the zeal of the young men had taken another direction, especially as the Cathedral had long ceased to be used as a place of worship.

Meanwhile the plot has thickened and extended, as the actors never anticipated, when they came first upon the stage. England and Scotland discover that they have a common cause to fight for, a common enemy to contend with. Why should they not agree to stand by each other in defence of their liberties? England, in particular, is anxious for this; for, thanks to those veterans who had learned millitary discipline from the gallant Swede, Scotland has a well-organised army, whose help would be very acceptable, now that the Royalists are beating the Parliamentarian generals right and left. The Scots are not unwilling to enter into a league with the English; but it must be a Solemn League and Covenant—no mere alliance in defence of civil rights, but a sacred engagement to God and to each other, to promote the cause of truth and piety, by endeavouring to secure uniformity of religion in both realms. "The English were for a civil league, we for a religious Covenant," says Baillie. Scotland would be one with England in all things, now and ever, if Eng-

land would only bind herself to be one with Scotland, in what Scotland believed, with a deep and intense belief, was the only true, and pure religion—the Calvinistic doctrine and representative Church polity of Presbytery. The demand was not unreasonable. Had not England already as good as shaken off Episcopacy? Were not the most earnest of her children all, or almost all, persuaded of the thoroughly Scriptural character—nay, more, of the divine right of Presbytery? And was not the Assembly of Divines sitting at that very moment in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster, engaged in drawing up a Confession of Faith for both nations? The *perfervidum ingenium Scotorum*—never more perfervid than when it burns with the fire of religious conviction—carried all before it. The international Solemn League and Covenant—a document essentially distinct, be it remarked, from the National Covenant of 1638, was adopted in 1643 by both nations, and ordered to be subscribed throughout both realms. This paper "hastily drawn up by Henderson in some room in the High Street of Edinburgh—and it is by no means Henderson at his best,"*—speedily became a potent instrument in England. Every Parliamentarian official and adherent signed it—among others, one Oliver Cromwell. In Scotland it was subscribed with alacrity, though with less enthusiasm than the National Covenant. In the Elgin Museum may be seen the copy of the Solemn League and Covenant subscribed at Rothes. It is printed on coarse paper, quarto, folded into two leaves, and is subscribed by Mr Robert Todd, minister of the Gospel at Rothes (afterwards translated to Urquhart), Leslie, Patrick Leslie,

* Masson's Life of Milton.

elder, Walter Leslie, Robert Leslie, William Innes, John Guthrie, elder, and William Farquhar, who subscribes also for nine others, elders, adding a docket, "Thir are in name of the elders that could not subscribe themselves, who professed their Covenant formally, and that I, William Farquhar, clerk to the session, should subscribe for them." They must have had a strong kirk-session in Rothes in those days, but apparently its strength did not lie in literature.

CHAPTER II.

Montrose and Colkitto—Ravaging Moray—The Battle of Auldearn—The Graves of the Covenanters—The Seige of Lethen—Middleton Chasing Montrose from the Ness to the Beauly—Lord Brodie at Breda—King Charles of Scotland and King Milne of Garmouth—Glencairn's Expedition—Duel on the Links of Dornoch—The Citadel of Inverness—Troopers Settling in the North—The Fast at Lethen.

WITHIN two years of the signing of the Solemn League and Covenant by Mr Tod of Rothes and his session clerk, the Province of Moray had made closer acquaintance than was agreeable with that brilliant military meteor and dashing marauder, James Graham, Marquis of Montrose. We have met, you remember, with this high-spirited and impulsive noble among the leaders of the Covenanting interest; and State Papers, recently brought to light, render it probable that he was conscious of no dissimulation when he declared, with his last breath, that he had always been true to the Covenant.* He may never have formally renounced Presbytery, or accepted Episcopacy; but he began, at an early stage of the conflict, to waver in his allegiance to the cause which the Covenant represented. Already detected in secret plotting with the king, he came to an open breach with the patriotic party when they resolved to adopt the Solemn League and Covenant, and assist the

* Masson's Life of Milton.

English Parliament in their struggle with Charles. From that time forward he was an avowed and passionate Royalist. It is not difficult to account for the change. There is no reason to question Montrose's attachment to his country; but he was not a man of deep religious earnestness, of sound judgment, or of quick discernment. He was ostentatious, chivalrous, and ambitious. Two couplets which he wrote while a youth give us the key to his character:—

"He either fears his fate too much, or his deserts are small,
That dares not put it to the touch, to gain or lose it all."

"So great attempts, heroic ventures shall
Advance my fortune, or renown my fall."

His jealousy of Argyll, and impatience of occupying a secondary position, conspired with his romantic ambition and the personal influence of Charles, to convert him into a devoted supporter of the Crown.

The fortunes of the king were at a low ebb when Montrose undertook to create a diversion in his favour in the far North. Appearing suddenly in his familiar Athol Highlands, as if he had dropt from the clouds—actually, he had come from England, stealing in disguise through the straitly-watched Lowlands—he soon found himself at the head of an army, such as it was. It was about the raggedest little army that royal Lieutenant-General ever led to victory. It was destitute of ammunition and provisions. It scarcely numbered three thousand men, several of whom were armed with such primitive weapons as pikes, clubs, bows and arrows; while a considerable number had no weapons at all. About one-half the force consisted of Athol and Badenoch men; the other division was composed of

Macdonalds from Antrim and the Western Isles, led by a giant islander who rejoiced in a name worthy of his stature, *Alasdar Mac-Cholla Chiotaich Mhic-Ghilleasbuig, Mhic Alasdair Mhic Iain Chathanaich—i.e.*, Alexander, son of Coll the Left-handed, son of Archibald, son of Alexander, son of John of the Battles. Like his father, the chief of Colonsay, he had the personal peculiarity of being ambi-dexter, or able to wield his claymore with his left as well as with his right hand; and hence his Gaelic *soubriquet* of Kittoch, or Left-handed. A striking contrast, this stalwart and rugged islander, to the courtly Montrose, who is described as being then a man of thirty-two years of age, "of medium height, fair-haired, with a slightly aquiline nose, grey eyes, a brow of unusual breadth, and an air of courage and command." A painting in the hall of Cawdor Castle is shown as a portrait of Montrose; but it scarcely accords with this description, though another which I have seen—a fine full-length portrait by Vandyke, rescued from the fire which destroyed the Great Hall of Warwick Castle,—favours the idea of its accuracy. Adopting the tall Macdonald as his Major-General, he unfurled the royal standard, near Castle-Blair, towards the end of August 1644. Then commenced a series of marchings and ravagings to the South and the East, and back again to the North and the West, so rapid and so numerous, that it is vain to attempt to follow him through his brilliant campaign of a year and twelve days. On the 1st of September he routs Lord Elcho and his undisciplined levies at Tippermuir; in the beginning of October, he is on the northern slopes of the Grampians, retiring to Badenoch to avoid a muster of the Covenanters of Moray, Ross

Sutherland, and Caithness. By the end of the month he is in Strathbogie, having come round by Athol, Angus, and Aberdeen. Early in November he is in Badenoch again, from which he pounces on Argyll at Dunkeld. Then comes the descent into Argyllshire, and the fearful winter-harrying of the lands of Mac-Calain Mor. On the 30th of January 1645 he is at the western end of Lochness, where Fort-Augustus now (1875) stands, marching North to have a brush with Seaforth. Hearing that Argyll is on his trail, he doubles back by the Pass of Corryarrick, and Laggan, and the mountains of Lochaber, and rushing down Glen Nevis, crushes the Campbell at Inverlochy. Then he resumes his march northward, through the great Caledonian Valley, to meet the Mackenzie. Seaforth, however, has no intention of risking an encounter. The game is with the king's lieutenant, and it is safer to be with him than against him. Accordingly, he joins Montrose at Elgin, which surrenders on the 19th of February. A Committee of the Estates, consisting of several gentlemen of Moray, is sitting there, but they take to flight as the Royalist commander advances on the town. They have good cause; his approach is heralded by the smoke of their burning homesteads. The mansions of Grangehill (now Dalvey), Brodie, Culbin, Innes, and Redhall, are plundered and burnt; the lands of Burgie, Lethen, and Duffus, are wasted; the village of Garmouth is sacked, and the nets and cobles on the Spey destroyed. The Laird of Innes betakes himself to Spynie, which he fortifies, and prepares for a siege; many of the inhabitants of Elgin seek shelter with him, while some flee to Inverness and Ross. A fine of 4000 marks is paid by the magis-

trates to save the town from destruction, but it does not suffice to protect it from plunder.

Along with Seaforth, his brothers, the Lairds of Pluscarden and Lochslin, Sir Robert Gordon, and the Laird of Grant, went over to Montrose. Exacting from them a solemn oath of allegiance to the king, and a promise to join himself, with all their forces, as soon as they could, he permitted them to return to their homes. In the presence of Buchanan and Lawers' regiments, which garrisoned Inverness, Seaforth found it convenient to disown his oath. He wrote to the Committee of Estates at Aberdeen, "that he had yielded to Montrose through fear only, and would henceforth abide by the good cause to his death." Detachments from the garrison of Inverness made reprisals on the renegade Covenanters, plundering the House of Elchies, laying waste the lands of Cookston, and carrying Pluscarden and Lochslin prisoners to the Highland capital.*

After another "fiery progress" through Aberdeen, Angus, and Perth,—burning Dundee on the 3rd of April,—Montrose, hearing that Sir John Hurry, one of the Covenanting generals, was in the Enzie, harassing the Gordons with the aid of some of the men of Moray, rushed north by Glenmuick, Braemar, and Ballater. Before his antagonist was aware that he had crossed the Grampians, Montrose was within six miles of his camp. Having but a comparatively small force at his back, the Covenanting general struck his camp in great alarm, hurried across the Spey, rushed through Elgin and Forres, closely followed by Montrose, on to the banks of the Nairn, where he managed to elude his

* Spalding.

pursuer and make his escape to Inverness with little loss. Reinforced by the garrison of Inverness, the Earls of Seaforth and Sutherland with their retainers, the Frasers from the Aird, the Brodies from Moray, and the Roses and the men of Calder from Nairn, Hurry wheeled round, determined to give his antagonist battle. He found Montrose posted at the village of Auldearn, where he had taken up a position on the morning after the pursuit. It is said that Montrose would have declined an engagement, as his forces were now outnumbered by those of Hurry, were it not that he was apprehensive of being taken in the rear by Baillie, cousin of our genial gossip the letter-writer, and now Commander-in-Chief of the Covenanting armies in Scotland. The strength of the Royalists had been variously estimated. Montrose's biographers give it as 1500 foot and 250 horse; but there is reason to suspect that this is an under-statement. Shaw asserts that they numbered 3000 foot and 400 horse. If that was the case, the strength of Montrose's position more than compensated for the odds in Hurry's favour, whose strength was 3500 foot and 400 horse. It is necessary to bear in mind, that the village which contemporary accounts make the centre of his position did not nestle in the hollow into which the turnpike-road has drawn the present hamlet, but spread itself over the terrace crowned by the Church on to the rising ground above the Mill. In this hollow towards the Castle or Moot-hill, Colkitto was posted with his command behind the dykes and ditches which fenced the gardens of the villagers. He had but a mere handful of Irish and Western Highlanders; but his position was peculiarly strong, and he was enjoined on no ac-

Photo.-Litho. by Cooper & Co., Inverness. Melven Brothers, Lithos.

VILLAGE OF AULDEARN.

count to abandon it for the open. Montrose stationed his horse and the remainder of his foot—in fact the bulk of his army—on the south-west, clear of the village, extending his line to the Bog of Newmill. The hamlet itself he partially fortified, ostentatiously placing a few guns in front of the houses. The royal standard he gave to Macdonald, with the view of deluding the enemy into the belief, that it marked the station of the General, and the key of the position. Montrose's design in this disposition seems to have been two-fold: to give his opponent the impression that his force was far more formidable than it really was; and to induce him to give his attention to Macdonald, instead of concentrating his strength in an assault on his own position. He calculated that while the best of Hurry's troops would thus be engaged in assailing Colkitto, the diminished strength of the Covenanting Right would give him the advantage in a sudden onset with his own Left, with which he expected to be able to scatter the forces immediately opposed to him, and so to sweep round on the Covenanting Left when entangled in the brushwood and ditches of the broken ground which covered Macdonald's position. The Left-Handed might then be trusted to sally forth from his defences and render efficient aid, in the decisive grapple. The plan was not badly conceived. Hurry fell into the trap intended for him; but, had Montrose been the transcendent military genius which Peter Bayne's enthusiastic laudation of his tactics at Auldearn* would lead us to suppose, he should have foreseen an incident which occurred in the course of the fight, and nearly upset his calculations. It was a mistake to have assigned such a position to

* Contemporary Review, July 1873.

Macdonald. Montrose ought to have known that Celtic warfare was partial to the sudden dash—the great rush and onset—which sweeps all before it, while it affected not the steadiness which can stand unmoved in the face of a fusilade. The hollow on the right ought to have been given to hold to some cool and phlegmatic Lowlander, while the fiery Highlander should have been told off for the *coup de main* by which Montrose hoped to decide the battle;—if, indeed, Macdonald did not insist that the Right should be assigned to him, as the place of honour claimed by his clan; an assertion of tribal dignity, which proved ruinous, a century later, at Culloden. But be this as it may, the taunts of the enemy, rather than their fire, proved too much for the equanimity of the impulsive Celt. Forgetting his orders, he led his men forth from their breast-works, eager to chastise the insolent Saxons who reproached them with cowardice. On the open, they soon began to give way before the steady onset of Hurry's veterans. Again, and again, Colkitto returned to the charge—but he was at length borne down by the numerical superiority of the enemy, and forced to retire in great disorder, into a neighbouring enclosure. "Nothing, however," says Wishart, "could exceed the admirable manner in which he managed his retreat, and the courage he displayed while leading off his men. Defending his body with a large target, he resisted, single-handed, the assaults of the enemy, and was the last man to leave the field. So closely indeed was he pressed by Hurry's spearmen, that some of them actually came so near him as to fix their spears in his target, which he cut off by threes and fours at a time with his broadsword." The brave descendant of John

of the Battles was not above having recourse to craft to defend himself in his extremity. There is a local tradition to the effect that being hard pressed by Hay of Kinuddie, a tall and powerful man, he called out to him, "I'll not deceive you, my men are coming up behind you." Hay instinctively turned round, when Macdonald, taking him off his guard, cut him down with one whistling sweep of his claymore. Macdonald's reverse precipitated the action of Montrose. Instead of sending reinforcements to his lieutenant, and thus diminishing the force on which he depended for victory, the Royalist General determined to strike at once the decisive blow which he intended to deliver from his own position, although the advantage on which he calculated had been sacrificed by the Highlander's impetuosity. He fell on Hurry's Right, with his entire force.

But for another untoward incident, this time in the ranks of the Covenanters, defeat along their whole line might have been the fate of the Royalists. While Montrose's men were advancing to the charge, Major Drummond who commanded the mounted levies of Moray and the North, being ordered to support the infantry, wheeled about in such a manner as to throw into confusion those whom it was the object of his movement to support. Seeing this, the Gordon gentlemen charged and broke the Covenanting horse, while Montrose himself pressed the disconcerted infantry with his whole strength. They offered a stubborn resistance. The veterans in Hurry's army, who had served in Ireland, "all expert and singular well trained soldiers,"* fought manfully, and chose rather to be mown down,

* Spalding.

standing in their ranks, than to retreat. The brave Campbell of Lawers fell, sword in hand, with the greater part of his regiment, on the spot where they had routed the left wing under the Macdonald. A clump of trees known as the Dead-Wood, at what must have been the extreme point of Hurry's Right, marks the place where the bodies of the slain, collected from the field, were interred.* The new levies from Moray, Ross, and Sutherland, fled in great consternation. The ruthless cry of "No quarter," pursued the fugitives, followed by the stroke of the broadsword. Fearful carnage marked the course of the flight, which took the direction of Inverness. Hurry himself, the Earls of Seaforth, Sutherland, and Findlater, and other leaders narrowly escaped with the horse. The number of killed on both sides has been variously stated. Shaw makes the loss of the Covenanters 800. It was probably more than this, though not so high as Montrose's partial panegyrists make it. That the Royalists left only fifteen men dead on the field, as Wishart, Montrose's chaplain, would have us believe, is simply incredible, and is contradicted by other annalists. One gives 200,† and we may safely conclude that the number was not less. The clans who had joined Hurry, suffered considerably, especially the Frasers. A more touching item in the statistics of war could not be given than that supplied by an old family chronicle:—"Besides what fell unmarried, there were eighty-seven

* The workmen coming on great quantities of human bones when turning up the ground, proposed to gather them together, and to bury them in a deep pit. "Oh, no," said Mr Gordon of Braid, the proprietor, "don't disturb them; the poor fellows are low enough already."—*Rev. W. Barclay in New Statistical Account.*

† Gilbert Gordon.

widows in the lordship of Lovat."* Hugh Rose, the thirteenth baron of Kilravock—an accomplished man, whose lot was cast in evil days,—was in the battle at the head of a battalion of his clan; but he lived to fight another day; for, we find him commanding a regiment of dragoons in Hamilton's disastrous expedition into England, in connection with what is known in history as the Engagement. A stone in the northern wall of the choir of the Church of Auldearn bears the following inscription:—"This monument is erected by Sir Robert Innes, Younger of that Ilk, in memorie of Alexander Drummond of Meedhope, Sir John Murray and Maister Gideon Murray who lyes here interred, who fighting waliantly in defence of their Religion, King, and native Countrye diet at Aulderne, 9th May 1645." Another stone in the churchyard near the door of the church, bears this inscription:—"Here lyeth Captaine Bernard Mackenzie, who in defence of his Religion and Country, fighting, diet at Aulderne 9th May 1645." These were all Covenanting officers. Major Drummond, to whose awkward movement the loss of the battle was due, was put on his trial at Inverness, and accused of treachery. Having confessed that he had spoken to the enemy after the sign of battle was given, he was condemned and shot.†

As the sympathies of the district were with the Covenanters, Montrose gave his men license to harry and ravage as they pleased. The comfortable plenishings of *bodaich Mhoraidh* (the carles of Moray) have always had great attractions for the Western Highlanders, and, doubtless, Colkitto's men carried out the General's order to the letter. The lands of Cawdor were wasted;

* King's Covenanters. † Appendix B.

—we do not read that the castle was attempted,—but several houses in Nairn were plundered and burnt. Turning eastward, the victorious army made its presence felt at Brodie, and Lethen, and Darnaway. "We fell," says Lord Brodie, "before the Wild Irishes six times without any interruption, and to mingle the Church's and the land's calamity with my private (loss) my house, and my mains and bigging, was brunt to the ground, and my estate made desolate, and no place left me, nor means to subsist."

In one of the skirmishes which took place between Montrose's van and the Covenanting rear-guard, while Hurry was retreating from the Enzie, a young gentleman, James Gordon of Rhynie, was wounded. A party from the Castle of Spynie following Montrose's army, to pick off any plundering stragglers, found him in the house of Struthers, near Forres, and barbarously put him to death. This inhuman deed, unauthorised by, and unknown to the Covenanting leaders, is adduced by Montrose's apologists as his reason for giving no quarter at Auldearn. He did not forget it when he arrived in Elgin. Selecting the houses of those who had been concerned in the death of Rhynie, he set fire to them, and the flames spread beyond the property of the guilty parties. The dwellings of Hay the Provost, and Gawin Douglas—a leading citizen,—were selected for destruction, but their safety was secured by a payment of money. The Friary of Elgin was plundered but not burnt, because, forsooth, it was Church property. The village of Garmouth, being the property of the Laird of Innes, who held the Castle of Spynie, was reduced to ashes.

The inscription on Captain Bernard Mackenzie's

tomb fixes the date of the battle of Auldearn, 9th May 1645. On the night of the 12th September, Montrose was crushed at Philiphaugh, and his brilliant campaign brought to an inglorious end. But the province of Moray was not yet delivered from his baneful presence. His spirit was unbroken; and, though it was evident enough to all others, that the Royalist cause was hopelessly lost, he thought a blow might still be struck for the king in the North. Collecting a body of Athol men, he laid seige to the Castle of Inverness. He was assisted in this operation by the Earl of Seaforth, now acting openly against the Covenant.* Had Huntly also come to his help, as he had, though with evident reluctance, engaged to do, the garrison might have been starved out; but the chief of the Gordons, instead of advancing to the Highland capital, spent his time in reducing the castellated dwellings of the Covenanting gentlemen of Moray. Rothes, Burgie, and Moyness, fell into his hands; and the strong house of Lethen, in which many of the Brodie connection had taken refuge, capitulated after a seige of three months duration. "Lethen's lands were burnt," writes Lord Brodie, in reference to this event; "his house and my dear friend and Christian brethren, besieged and blocked up, and in fear of their lives by Huntly."† These useless operations on the part of the Gordons, left the way clear for Middleton's advance from Aberdeen to the relief of the garrison of Inverness. This officer, who had a private grudge against Montrose to gratify— his father, Middleton of Caldhame, in Kincardineshire, having been killed, sitting in his chair, by the Marquis's men,—was second in command at Philiphaugh.

* Appendix, Note C. † Appendix, Note D.

The Estates marked their appreciation of his services on that field, by voting him a gift of 25,000 marks, and appointing him Commander-in-Chief of their forces in Scotland when Leslie was despatched to England. He arrived in the neighbourhood of Inverness, with a force of 600 horse and 800 foot, on the 9th of May 1646. Montrose took up a position to the east of the town with the intention of disputing his progress; but, afraid to hazard an engagement, he hastily crossed the river Ness, and retreated towards Beauly, closely pursued by Middleton's Cavalry, who harassed his rear, and inflicted considerable loss. Montrose's men dispersed; their leader made for the South by Strathglass, Corryarrick, and the sources of the Spey; and Middleton invested Seaforth's stronghold at Fortrose, which he took after a seige of four days. He restored it immediately to the Countess, who was within the castle at the time, contenting himself with carrying off the stores of ammunition which it contained. We shall meet with Middleton again in somewhat different circumstances.

As for Montrose, it is not necessary to follow the gallant Marquis any farther. It was utterly useless to prolong the conflict, yet it was with deep grief and great rage that he received his royal master's command to sheath his sword and retire to the Continent. The Province of Moray might well rejoice over his exile. It was deliverance from the scourge of judgment. Besides the blood shed in the pitched battle fought at Auldearn, there was scarcely a field between Aberdeen and Inverness that had not been trodden black and desolate: scarcely a mansion or farm-house that had not been pillaged or left in ruins; scarcely a town or

village that had not been sacked by his lawless banditti, or ruined by enormous fines exacted to replenish his exchequer! Four years later he appeared again on the northern border of our district, but his wild and hopeless invasion was crushed, on the first occasion on which his raw and heterogeneous forces met a handful of disciplined troops. Shortly after his defeat by Colonel Strahan, at Invercharron, near Bonar Bridge, on the 27th April 1650, he fell into the hands of his enemies. Who does not wish that he had been spared the scaffold, though he did turn his sword on his former friends, and gave no quarter at Auldearn? A strangely fascinating influence is wielded by James Graham, Marquis of Montrose. His contemporaries felt it as they stood in his bodily presence; and it clings to his memory still. We cannot conceal from ourselves that he is treacherous and cruel, and yet we are attracted to the man. We cannot help admiring the soldier, though we note that he is signally defeated whenever he encounters a commander of repute.

While the unfortunate Montrose is skulking in the Wilds of Assynt, events are transpiring in an ancient castle in Brabant which demand our attention; for a Moray-man is trying his best to shape them in the interests of the Covenant. I allude to the negotiations of Breda, and the share which Alexander Brodie of Brodie had in them. The Covenanters of Scotland were true to the throne while they resisted the king. They fought against the first Charles because he dared to interfere with their higher allegiance to the King of kings, but they desired not his death. As soon as they heard of the tragedy of Whitehall, they promptly proclaimed the second Charles, king in his father's stead;

but they did not forget in their loyalty to the House of their ancient monarchs, that they were under oath to the Lord of Hosts. As a nation, they had sworn to Jehovah in the engagements of the Covenant; and therefore the Head of the Nation must be a Covenanting Ruler. The Covenant is the constitution of the realm; and hence, acceptance of it is an essential article of the compact between sovereign and subject. Accordingly, in proclaiming Charles king, it was declared that, "before he be admitted to the exercise of his royal power, he shall give satisfaction to the kingdom in these things that concern the security of religion, the union betwixt the kingdoms, and the good and peace of the kingdom according to the National Covenant, and the Solemn League and Covenant; for the which end we are resolved with all possible expedition to make our humble and earnest address to his majesty." To give effect to this resolution, a Commission, on the roll of which we find the names of two gentlemen from the North, Alexander Brodie of Brodie and Alexander Jaffray of Kingswells, Provost of Aberdeen, was despatched by the Estates of Parliament to treat with Charles. He was then residing with his brother-in-law, the Prince of Orange, at the Hague. Principal Baillie, one of the Commissioners, has given a detailed account of the negotiations, but we need not enter into them. Suffice it to say, that they failed, owing to Charles's undisguised aversion to the Covenant. To the two northern Commissioners, who had become very warm friends—both of them being men of integrity, piety, and tenderness of conscience—the result was not unacceptable. They saw enough of the king to convince them that such pledges as they re-

quired would be given, if given at all, only in insincerity and hypocrisy. Jaffray has left behind him a "Journal or diary continued to July 1661, about which time he joined the sect of Quakers, among whom he became one of the earliest members." In this journal he says with reference to the negotiations at the Hague, "Having gone there in the simplicity of our hearts, minding what we conceived to be duty, it pleased the Lord to bring us safely off without snare or entanglement." It seems strange that with all they had learned on this occasion of the untrustworthiness of Charles's character, Brodie and Jaffray should accept a second appointment to deal with him, in the interests of the nation and the Covenants. Probably they and their fellow-Commissioners were influenced by the motives which Wynram of Libberton urged so strongly in his letters from Holland. "Now is the time," he writes to Mr Robert Douglas, minister of Edinburgh, "to pray that the Lord would prevent the king with His tender mercies, for, indeed, he is brought very low, when he has not bread both for himself and his servants, and betwixt him and his brother not ane English shilling; and worse yet if I durst write it. I am confident no ingenuous spirit will take advantage of his necessities; but for all this (as I have heard you advise them to deal with his father) use him princely. . . . . His case is very deplorable, being in prison, where he is living in penury, surrounded by his enemies, not able to live anywhere else in the world, unless he would come to Scotland, by giving them satisfaction to their just demands; yet his pernicious and devilish Council will suffer him to starve before they will suffer him to take the League and Covenant. I am persuaded no

rational man can think he will come that length at first: but if he could once be extricate from his wicked Council there might be hope."

Pity for their hereditary sovereign in his abject helplessness, and the hope of being able to withdraw him from the influence of his "Malignant" advisers, were the considerations that weighed with the Estates and the General Assembly, in appointing a second Commission, and with the Commissioners in accepting the appointment. Besides, the royal exile himself was now eager for the reopening of negotiations. The logic of events since May 1649 had convinced him that the hope of foreign intervention in his favour was but a broken reed. Accordingly in a letter to the Chancellor Loudon, he appointed the Commissioners to meet him on the 15th March 1650 at the Castle of Breda, where he had taken up his residence on being expelled from Holland. They found him prepared to sign everything with most suspicious alacrity. No matter what the demand might be, he was ready to grant it. Brodie, Jaffray, and Livingstone—the godly minister of Ancrum, one of the Commissioners from the General Assembly,—could not shut their eyes to the glaring insincerity of the whole transaction. Their hearts revolted at a business by which, as Jaffray expresses it in the Journal already referred to, "We did sinfully both entangle and engage ourselves and that poor young prince to whom we were sent: making him sign and swear a Covenant, which we knew from clear and demonstrable reasons, that he hated at his heart. Yet finding that upon these terms only he could be admitted to rule over us—all other means having failed him—*he* sinfully complied with what *we* most sinfully

pressed upon him:—Where I must confess, to my apprehension *our* sin was more than his." So clear were Jaffray's convictions on this point that he spoke to the king himself, urging him "not to sign the Covenant if he was not satisfied in his own conscience." The Clerical Commissioners were equally faithful, pleading again and again with Charles to state any objections he had to the treaty or the Covenant—but no objections had he. Yet so abundant were the evidences of his hatred to the Covenant, and such his manner of life, and the character of his counsellors, that Livingstone says, "All these things made me always suspect that there could be no blessing on the treaty; and many a time Mr Hucheson (one of the ministers of Edinburgh) and I, whose chambers joined close one to another, would confess to one another that we were glad when the treaty was like to break off and sad when there was appearance of closing it." Lord Brodie shared their conscientious scruples. It is to be regretted that he himself has left no record of this interesting episode in his life; but we gather from Livingstone's account that the two Northern Commissioners were for breaking off the negotiations, or, at the utmost, binding Charles by verbal and general promises only. How different would have been the complexion of our history had effect been given to their convictions! The bloody and humiliating chapter which records the carnage of Dunbar and Worcester, and chronicles that interlude of vilest hypocrisy enacted during the temporary restoration of 1650, might have been unwritten, and the annals of Charles's actual reign might have a far less sanguinary story to tell. But they were outvoted—the ministers had no vote, neither had the

Earl of Cassillis, being president,—and it was carried that papers should be formally signed. It was entrusted to Lord Brodie to draw up the documents for the State, and to Mr James Wood, those for the Church. Livingstone complains that the documents did not in their first draft fully reflect the Instructions issued to the Commission, and that they were farther toned down in Committee, as we would say. Anyhow, they received the royal signature, and Charles forthwith took ship for Scotland as Scotland's Covenanted King. In the very act of embarkation the Commissioners received a significant intimation of the importance which he attached to his solemn oath and signature. By one of the Articles of the treaty certain persons whose society and counsel were inimical to the best interests of a covenanted king, were excluded from attendance on the royal person. When the Commissioners went on board, they found the excluded courtiers before them. Brodie, Jaffray, and the ministers, promptly signified their disapprobation by refusing to embark. On second thoughts, however, they decided on accompanying their fellow-Commissioners, lest other important points of their trust should suffer by their absence. After a voyage of twenty days the royal party arrived at the mouth of the Spey on the 23rd of June, old style. Cromwell's cruisers conspired with the winds to confer on the Province of Moray the equivocal honour of being the first part of Scotland to receive the "Merry Monarch," whose presence was a curse, and his rule a deadly blight. Bitterly did Scotland rue the day that he set foot on her strand. The landing was not an imposing ceremony, but it presented certain features of mingled comedy and sordidness not altogether out of

keeping with the character of the king, and the aspect of his fortunes. "'The vessel that brought the king and his retinue to the mouth of the Spey," says the Rev. John Allan of Garmouth, to whom I am indebted for the following account, representing local traditions of the event, "had to cast anchor a little way off, and a boat had to be employed to convey the passengers to the shore. As there was no pier or landing stage in those days, and as the boat could not approach sufficiently near to allow the king to land dry-shod, it was necessary that some one should wade into the water and carry his Majesty on his back to the land. For this honourable service, Thomas Milne, the ferryman of the day, was pitched upon—a man little of stature, but more than ordinarily robust. Making his way to the side of the boat, and presenting his broad back to the king, Thomas bade his Majesty 'loup on.' Eyeing the little man and not being quite clear about committing himself to his hands, Charles hesitated, when Milne, looking up in his face, said, 'I may be leetle o' statur, but I'se be bound I'm baith strong and steddy: and mony's the heavier burden I've carrit in my day'—might he not have added, with perfect truth, though perhaps in a whisper, 'and mony's the *better* burden too.' The king was then persuaded to mount, and was soon and safely set down on *terra firma.* Whether Thomas received any royal acknowledgment for his service I have no information, but the deed was not forgotten in another quarter. For services as insignificant some people have received the honour of knighthood, and though Milne did not get a *knighthood* from the king, he got a *kinghood* from his fellow-villagers of Germach—as the place was then called.

Thomas forthwith received the *soubriquet* of King Milne; and the title has descended in regular succession, from generation to generation, distinguishing this family from all others of the same name in the county. The last representative was a Janet Milne, great-great-grand-daughter of the first king. She died a few years ago, at a very advanced age, but in full possession of her memory and other mental faculties. From her lips I received much of the above information, as being to her a piece of rather interesting family history. Whether the dynasty of a Milne or a Stuart would have been the better for Scotland may admit of question; but which of the two kings, Thomas Milne or Charles Stuart, was the more honest in his transactions, with me, at least, admits of no question at all. Having safely landed, Charles and his suite proceeded to the house of the Laird of Innes in the village, where he was hospitably entertained by the Laird and his lady. The house stood on a small eminence overlooking the valley of the Spey; and in the title-deeds of the present proprietor of the ground, the place is described as 'the Laird's Toft.' It was in this house that Charles subscribed the Solemn League and Covenant, though some say that he was constrained to sign it before he was allowed to leave the vessel, or step on Scottish ground; but be this as it may, he did take and subscribe that document, and afterwards deliberately and perfidiously broke it. The last vestiges of the tenement thus honoured by being for a few hours the abode of royalty, have lately been removed to make way for a cow-house. 'To what base uses we may return, Horatio!'"

Whether local tradition is right in asserting that

Charles signed the Covenant in the house of Sir Robert Innes, on landing at Garmouth, there can be little doubt that he signed it on board ship while the vessel lay in the offing. Livingstone says in a letter, written to Mr Robert Douglas, before landing on the 23rd of June 1650, "The king hath granted all desired, and this day hath sworn and subscribed the two Covenants in the words of your last Declaration, and with assurance to renew the same at Edinburgh when desired." Most melancholy it is to contemplate the reckless readiness of the prince in signing everything, and anything, over and over again; the suspicion of his insincerity betrayed by the men who dealt with him in their urging him so frequently to renew his subscription; and the infatuation, under which experienced men of affairs such as they were, must have fallen when they could persuade themselves that sincerity could be imported by repetition into a profession, which was in its first and decisive act deliberately false and hollow. One principle of sincerity their unwise urgency did indeed implant in Charles' heartless bosom—very sincere hatred of those who imposed the Covenant—a root which bore them much bitter fruit, as we shall soon have occasion to observe.

It is not necessary to accompany Charles in his progress south from Gordon Castle, where he passed his first night in Scotland. His Coronation at Scone, and renewing the Solemn League and Covenant on the 1st of January 1651, and the battle of Worcester on the 3rd of September, which drove him again into inglorious exile, are matters of general history, in which our Northern Province was less interested than the Southern parts of the kingdom.

My design in these sketches does not require that I should describe the pacification of the country, the firm establishment of the Protectorate, and the suppression of the General Assembly by Cromwell's Government. Let me merely cite in passing Lord Brodie's note:—"The English came to Murray and crossed Spey 1st December 1651." Some brief allusion also is requisite to that poor imitation of Montrose's fiery progress, Glencairn's ill-starred Highland expedition. This nobleman, having received a commission from the exiled Stuart to command such a force as he might gather in Scotland, unfurled the standard of insurrection against Cromwell, at Lochearnhead, in August 1653. Joined by Lord Atholl at the head of a body of Atholl Highlanders, and by the great Inverness-shire chieftains, Glengarry and Lochiel with their clansmen, he hovered about the Grampians till the beginning of the following year, when he descended into Moray and took possession of Elgin in the name of Charles II. The conduct of this enterprise—in the nature of things, an all but hopeless undertaking—was beyond the capacity of Glencairn. He found the Highland chiefs more disposed to dictate than to obey. It was probably on this account that he was superseded, and the command given to Middleton, who had become an ardent Royalist since we met him last chasing Montrose. He fought with great bravery at Worcester, where he was wounded and taken prisoner. Having escaped from the Tower he joined Charles at Paris. In 1653 he was sent home by the king with a Commission as Commander-in-chief of the Royal forces in Scotland. Landing in Caithness, he issued orders to Glencairn to join him at Dornoch. The latter, on his march through Moray, ravaged

the lands of those who refused to join him. Lord Brodie records that "Glencairn burnt the corns (the corn-yards) and houses of Lethen"—an infliction which must have caused much suffering, judging by the repeated and pathetic allusions to it. It appears, in fact, to have been the most considerable achievement of the whole expedition. Having arrived at the place of rendezvous, the army, increased probably by a contingent furnished by Seaforth who had declared again for the king, was reviewed by the new commander, and found to consist of three thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse. The resignation of the command to Middleton was a deep mortification to Glencairn. He loyally resolved to put the best face he could on the business, but with indifferent success. In proposing the health of his successor at an entertainment which he gave to the new general and the leading officers, he could not abstain from taking credit to himself for having "raised a gallant army of worthy gentlemen at a time when it could hardly be expected that any number could meet together." Irritated by the tone of this speech, Middleton's lieutenant, Sir George Munro of Culrain, who probably regarded the clansmen of the "gallant army" with all the contempt which a veteran of the line entertains for volunteers and holiday soldiers, rudely interrupted the earl, exclaiming with an oath, "The men whom you speak of are nothing but a pack of thieves and robbers. In a short time I will bring a different set of men into the field. The proud chiefs who followed Glencairn could not stomach so gross an affront. There was quite a competition for the honour of resenting it, but the earl insisted that the quarrel was his. The banquet was followed by a ball, at which a hostile meet-

ing was arranged, and next morning the noble head of the House of Cunningham and the Knight of Culrain encountered each other on the Links of Dornoch, about two miles to the south of the town. The combatants were mounted and fought with pistols and swords. After a few passes Munro was wounded in the bridle hand. Fearing that he could no longer manage his horse, he called out to the earl, that he hoped that he would allow him to fight on foot. "You carle," said his lordship, "I will show you that I can match you either on foot or on horseback." Dismounting, they renewed the combat, but Glencairn was evidently a better swordsman than the major-general, with all his experience gained in Ireland and at Preston. A severe cut in the forehead, the blood from which blinded him, placed him at the mercy of his antagonist, who would have run him through the body, had his hand not been opportunely seized by a by-stander. Middleton was much annoyed by the affair, and placed them both under arrest; but the earl was permitted, shortly after, to withdraw from the army. He returned home, and made his peace with Monk. The bloody bitterness and picturesque details of this combat ought to commend it to the novelist, but it did not bode well for Middleton's command. Cooped up among the mountains, by the strong parties which Monk posted at Inverness, Perth, and the other gates of the Highlands, the Cavalier general marched back and fore through Ross and Inverness, cautiously followed by the Roundhead Colonel Morgan. At length, on the 26th July 1654, he was surprised by his pursuer in a defile near Lochgarry; and, as the historian of the expedition narrates, "pressed so hard that the king's army ran as fast as they could

and in great confusion. There was no great slaughter, as night came on soon after they were engaged. Every man shifted for himself and went where he best liked." Middleton escaped to the Continent. Such was the inglorious end of "the gallant army of worthy gentlemen." Indirectly, this abortive enterprise of the Earl of Glencairn left its mark on the Province of Moray. To curb the wild Highlanders the Protector's Government anticipated the policy which the Hanoverian princes pursued in the following century. A fort of considerable magnitude and strength was built at Inverness, and another at the upper end of Lochness, where Fort-Augustus was afterwards erected. To maintain communication between the two military stations a ship of war cruised on the lake. A trooper in the Protectorate army tells us with much flowery eloquence how this vessel was transported over land from the Beauly Firth, by the soldiers quartered at Inverness, who "by artifice had fastened thick cables to her forecastle, and then got levers and rollers of timber, which they spread at a distance, one from another."* This triumph of primitive engineering, which may be regarded as the first suggestion of the Caledonian Canal, must have deeply impressed the surrounding clans with a sense of the enterprise and energy of the English. The name and appearance of Crummel Hill, overlooking Fort-George, gives verisimilitude to a local tradition which makes it the site of one of Cromwell's forts. The citadel of Inverness, "a fair fortress," whose magazines, providoes, harbours, vault, graffs, bridges, sally-ports, cellars, bastions, horn-works, redoubts, counterscarps, etc., fill trooper Frank with unutterable admiration, was

* Frank's Northern Memoirs, quoted by Burton.

a regular pentagon built of stone. Its site can be easily traced on the low ground, to the right of the river, between the town and the sea. Its erection completed the ruin of the ancient ecclesiastical edifices of the district; the English engineers availing themselves of the supplies of building material which they furnished ready to their hand. Fortrose Cathedral, and Beauly Priory, were laid under requisition, but the chief quarry was the extensive buildings of the Abbey of Kinloss. Brodie of Lethen, who had become proprietor of the abbey by purchase from Lord Elgin, was glad to eke out his ruined fortunes by disposing of the stones to the Protector's Government.

The citadel of Inverness continued to be garrisoned by a regiment of Roundheads till the fall of the Protectorate. The soldiers, who doubtless maintained the high moral character which distinguished the armies of Cromwell, appear to have lived on amicable terms with the townspeople, and some of them preferred remaining in the North to returning home with their comrades. Among those who bound themselves by domestic ties to the Highland capital was a trooper of the name of Porteous—a man of good family. Two grandsons of his became ministers of the Church of Scotland, and attained to eminence as evangelical preachers—William Porteous, who exercised a ministry of eleven years in the parish of Rafford, dying at a comparatively early age in 1738; and his brother John, who was settled in Kilmuir Easter in 1734, and died 1775. The memory of the latter is still fragrant in Easter Ross. A contemporary, the Rev. James Calder of Croy, describes him as "indeed a burning and a shining light—full of faith, and of the Holy Ghost—full of piety, zeal,

candour, benevolence, and charity, and every grace and virtue that could adorn the minister and the Christian."* To this testimony, the accomplished editor of the Calder Diary appends the following note:—"Not only his sayings carried down by popular tradition, but his extant manuscript sermons, prove him (Mr Porteous) to have been a man of original genius as well as great piety."

The rule of the Protector was as firm and impartial in the North as in the other parts of Scotland. It was not loved, for it was the ascendancy of an alien, an invader, and a conqueror; but the benefits which it conferred were appreciated. Cromwell's strong hand kept down dissension in the Church, curbed the fierce passions which rent the body politic, and compelled contending factions and hostile clans to obey the law and keep the peace. It gave the people a sense of security, and afforded the country an opportunity of rallying its exhausted energies. How much our Northern Province stood in need of such a season of repose and restoration the case of an unassuming country gentleman, whose affairs have come more than once under our notice, serves strikingly to illustrate. In an Act of Parliament, of date 27th March 1647, engrossing the heads of a petition, presented by Brodie of Lethen, for some indemnification for losses sustained in supporting "the good cause," it is stated, "His house of Lethen was besieged by James Graham (Montrose) and his adherents, wha not been able to prevail brunt his hail barns, barn-yards and corns; plundered the hail insight and plenishing of his barony, and took away eight hundred oxen and kine, eighteen hundred sheep

* Diary of James Calder. Stirling, 1875.

and goats, two hundred horses and mares. Likewise, thereafter, the late Marquis of Huntly and his sons, with two thousand foot and horse, besieged the supplicant's house of new, by the space of twelve weeks. Wha being disappointed and enraged through the loss of many of their men, at last, did burn over again the said supplicant his hail lands, whereupon there was above the number of eight score persons, and left not ten of them to remain upon the same land: and about a year thereafter the Highlanders took away all that was upon the ground. And lastly, the supplicant having plenished some of his bounds, the enemies, for his refusal to concur in the late unlawful engagement, did eat up and destroy his hail corns, plundered of new again his hail nolt and bestial, and left the land in worse condition nor it was before." Nor did the process of depletion end here. As we have seen, Glencairn followed to complete the ruin which Montrose began. In what spirit did these sturdy Covenanters take the spoiling of their goods? The Brodies were shrewd, active men, of a decidedly practical turn; and we may be sure they neglected no legitimate means of repairing their fortunes, but their first impulse was to turn to the Lord in humiliation and prayer. As soon as Glencairn withdrew they appointed "a day of search, and humiliation and supplication, to be humbled under the Lord's anger which hath for many years burned against this land, under the Lord's hand upon the family they belonged to, and under the acknowledgment of their personal and particular provocations." Lord Brodie's account of this solemn fast held at Lethen on the 31st January 1654 is very suggestive. It throws a flood of light on the character of the Covenanting

cause, on what I may call, its private and personal side. It brings forth in bold relief the principles and convictions which were the strength of that cause; exhibits the mode of thought and feeling which gave it form, and recalls the associations which gave idiom and tone to its language. It is, however, too long to be quoted entire. On the day appointed the whole family connection—a pretty large one—assembled at Lethen. Prominent among them were two ministers, brothers of the Laird of Lethen and uncles of Lord Brodie, Joseph Brodie, minister of Forres, and John, minister of Auldearn. A cousin, Francis Brodie of Milton, appears to have been absolutely impoverished by "the troubles." As it was specially in reference to the desperate circumstances of Lethen and Milton that the Fast was held, the proceedings of the day were appropriately opened by the two old men "confessing and bewailing their particular guilt." Then the assembled company engaged in prayer. "We were all affected with the work of God on their spirits," says the Diarist, "and besought the Lord on their behalf that He would not let their wound close till it were thoroughly healed." Next, the two ministers preached. Whatever the sermons were, the subjects of discourse were apposite and pertinent. Mr Joseph selected as his text, the words of Eliphaz the Temanite in Job xxii. 20, 21; and Mr John lectured from the second chapter of Joel. After sermon, the preachers made solemn confession of personal sin, and renewed their covenant engagements with God—exercises in which they were followed by each member of the company in succession. It is impossible to read the record of these confessions and engagements without being impressed by their tone of

thorough sincerity and deep personal piety. "Mr John acknowledged his predominant sins of worldliness and earthly-mindedness, passion, pride, unfaithfulness in his calling; and entered his soul bound to mortify these sins, and every sin, and to labour for more fidelity, watchfulness, and carefulness in his ministerial calling than ever; but renouncing himself, desired to believe in the grace of God, through Christ, for this effect." Mr Joseph confessed and engaged in somewhat similar terms. Lethen renewed the acknowledgments with which the exercises opened, and prayed the Lord "for a willing honest heart to make good what was in his heart." Milton, who seems to have had heinous sins brought to remembrance by the disasters which befell him, was deeply penitent and fervent in spirit. "Old Francis," says his cousin, "renewed his confession with tears: confessing the Lord to be just in casting him out of his family, and making it desolate, for he had not honoured Him in that family but polluted it. . . . . and therefore the Lord was just in burning up his house and substance. He took the Lord and us, His people, witnesses of his sincere and unfeigned acknowledgment. and of his purpose and desire to be turned to God. He gave up his body now to be a temple to the Lord; he desired to consecrate his substance and children to the Lord to be His. He did set the Lord over all: and bound himself, soul, body, mind, will, affections, heart, strength, and all his powers, to be the Lord's. Only desired to lay the weight of this day's vow and covenant, and the performance of it, upon the Lord Jesus and His all-sufficient grace." The Diarist records the separate confessions of eighteen individuals. His own are not specified,

but we may regard the following as more peculiarly the expression of his sentiments:—"We closed the exercise with a solemn engagement of ourselves to God, and did come under a new, firm, inviolable covenant with God, that we should be His, and He should be ours. We gave up and surrendered our souls, body, estates, wit, parts, endowments, friends, wealth, and all that we had, or ever should have, or attain unto in this world, to be the Lord's for ever: that He might call for, use, and dispose of it, and make it His own. We besought the Lord to accept the free-will offerings of our lips, and of our hearts, and not to permit us to depart from Him. All of us for ourselves, and for our wives, that have them, and families, and interests, do stand before the Lord this day, making supplication and confession, and taking burden on us according to our several callings and stations as aforesaid, that the Lord shall be our God, and we shall be His people, on the bare condition of the new covenant; that He will give us another heart, and write His law within us. On the First of February this was written, and letters of exhortation to every one of them putting them in remembrance."

Engagements of this kind held a large place in the religious life of the day, and exercised a potent influence. In secret, in private, and in public, devout men had frequent recourse to fasts, confessions, and covenants, as aids to spiritual progress and moral reformation. It cannot be denied that these exercises helped to foster a robust piety which stood the test of suffering well, though, it may be admitted, they impressed upon it a somewhat artificial form and character. We may not approve of the formality of such transactions as

the Fast at Lethen, but who would not wish to see the spirit of them rule, not only in Brodie and in Lethen, but in all our homes, and in all our bosoms?

CHAPTER III.

The Restoration—The King's Tools—Sharp's Perfidy—Presbytery Abolished—The Scottish Hierarchy—Bishop Mackenzie of Moray—Ministers and Elders Deposed—Thomas Hogg of Kiltearn—John M'Killican of Fodderty—Sir Hugh Campbell of Cawdor, and the Lord's Prayer—Fines, Evictions, and Imprisonment.

THE uncrowned King Oliver Cromwell is dead. The sceptre has dropt from the nerveless grasp of his gentle son Richard. George Monk, the taciturn, self-possessed, tobacco-chewing old Ironside, has brought his negotiations with the Covenanters and the Cavaliers at home and with the royal exile at Breda to a point; and the English nation, beside itself with joy at the prospect of having a Stuart to rule over it again, carries Charles II. shoulder-high into Westminster and seats him on the old Stone of Destiny, almost forgetting in its excitement to bind him by a single pledge or promise. Scotland, ever true to the throne even when constrained to fight the king, had been more prudent. Ten years before, she had taken guarantees of good conduct from Charles in the shape of Covenant subscriptions; transactions with which a Moray man, Alexander Brodie of Brodie, had something to do, as we have seen. Resting on these pledges, poor sober old Scotland might well be excused, if she too, catching the infection from "Merrie England," broke forth in

transports of joy when the king came to his own again. Was he not the descendant of her ancient monarchs, her own thrice Covenanted King crowned on her own soil; and had she not shed her best blood for him at Dunbar and Worcester? Why should she haggle like a huckster with the poor needy fellow the moment he has come to his fortune? She can afford to wait, trusting in the royal Covenant-engagement, in the royal knowledge of the hand she has had in his restoration, and in the royal remembrance of her fidelity in the past. Ay, Charles remembers well—as a Stuart remembers—and he will let fond old Scotland know to her farthest shores that he remembers. He remembers that his northern subjects were terribly in earnest in professing a religion that required a man to pray, and fast, and listen to long sermons, and live cleanly, and do honest work, and fear God—things which the self-seeking profligate hated with a bitter hatred. He remembers that he had found it all but impossible to indulge his favourite vices when among them, and absolutely necessary to endeavour to hoodwink the stern precisians, by drawing a long face, and heaving deep sighs, and professing to be as austerely pious as themselves. He has not sufficient manliness in his mean hollow heart to despise himself for the deception, but he has spitefulness enough to remember it against them. The country is soon apprised of the excellence of the royal memory. It receives its first intimation of it when the stone-cutter, chisel in hand, obliterates the inscriptions on the tombs of Alexander Henderson and George Gillespie. These were the foremost two among the ministers of Scotland in the great times of the Covenant; and the Covenanting ministers who remain

have need to look to it, for evil is determined against them and their Church:—*that* they may learn from the execution of Argyll and Guthrie. Charles has determined to overthrow Presbytery and establish Episcopacy. Not that he has any conscientious preference for Episcopal order, as his father had, but he hates the strict discipline and high independence of Presbytery; and he has a shrewd guess that Episcopacy will have less difficulty in accommodating itself to the pretensions of a despotic throne.

To assist him in this work, ready tools are at hand. Scotland's nobility are poor, and the Civil War has made them none the richer. They flock up to London hungry for place and pension. Some obtain office, and pledge themselves to give effect to the royal will. Others are put off with promises. Among the former you have the rough, bottle-loving Middleton, whom you met as a Covenanter chasing Montrose, and then as a Royalist, commanding Glencairn's "gallant army of worthy gentlemen." He made up his mind to adhere to the fortunes of Charles, and he is rewarded with the office of Lord High Commissioner—chief representative of Majesty in Scotland. In that character he will leave his mark on Scotland's countenance. There is Lauderdale, the whilom enthusiastic Presbyterian, the zealous Covenanter, the trusted Commissioner of the Scottish Church to the Westminster Assembly—the seemingly eminently religious man who is so warm an admirer of Richard Baxter's works, that he must needs write from Windsor Castle, where he is detained a prisoner after the battle of Worcester, urging the good pastor of Kidderminster to have his writings translated into the languages of the Continent, and suggesting that

it would be well to begin with the "Call to the Unconverted." In an evil hour he sold himself to the Stuart, and he lived to hear his name execrated by his countrymen; while the best that his master could say for him was, "I perceive that Lauderdale has been guilty of many criminal actions against the people of Scotland, but I cannot find that he has done anything contrary to *my* interest." There are others such as he, and, notably, one man, a Churchman; and, I am sorry to say, a North-countryman, James Sharp—the greatest renegade of them all. To the town of Banff belongs the distinction, such as it is, of being the birth-place of this talented but unscrupulous ecclesiastic. A smooth-phrased man of ready wit, and great address, he had the faculty of insinuating himself into the confidence of those with whom he came in contact. Deep in the counsels of the Covenanters while yet a young man, he contrived, when captured at Alyth* along with the Committee of Estates, and shipped to London, to secure the favour of the Protector, without, however, deceiving that sagacious judge of men as to his true character. "O yes," said Cromwell, in answer to some praise of Sharp uttered in his hearing, "the gentleman is Sharp of that ilk, as they say in Scotland." Sent up to London on the eve of the Restoration, to negotiate with Monk in the interests of the Church of Scotland, he most perfidiously betrayed his trust. His letters to Mr Robert Douglas are master-pieces of dissimulation. Scotland was sadly in need of a leader at the time. Douglas was distinguished by a certain majesty of personal presence and deportment, in which men saw corroboration of the common belief that he was a

* 1651.

grandson of Queen Mary;* and he carried great weight of character, but he was lacking in penetration, and otherwise unequal to the emergency.

So completely did Sharp hoodwink those who trusted him, that they suspected no evil when he returned at length from London, pluming himself on his favour with royalty, and bearing a letter from the king, in which Charles declared his resolution to protect and preserve the government of the Church of Scotland "as settled by law." The meaning of that phrase "as settled by law" soon became evident. The royal letter is hardly in the hands of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, to whom it is addressed, when Middleton's servile Parliament have passed an Act declaring it to be the king's full and firm resolution "to maintain the true Reformed Protestant religion in its purity of doctrine and worship, as it was established within this kingdom during the reigns of his royal father and grandfather of blessed memory." This is the comment in the light of which men are to read the text "as settled by law." The men, who reel from nocturnal orgies in Holyrood to legislate in Parliament House, dare not name Presbytery in suppressing it, nor Prelacy in establishing it. No reference must be made to the latter more direct than that phrase carries, "as it it was established within this kingdom during the reigns of his royal father and grandfather." But it matters not how you phrase it, the thing is done; and, sooth to say, it required some courage to do it. We read of a private conference which Middleton held with some of his confidential friends; among whom we meet with two

* His father was said to be a son of the Queen and of that George Douglas who planned her escape from Lochleven.

from the shores of the Moray Frith, Sir George Mackenzie of Tarbat and Urquhart of Cromarty—not the famous Sir Thomas of the long pedigree—he died of an immoderate fit of laughter, it is said, on hearing the news of the Restoration,—but his cousin who succeeded him—a man whose death by his own hand, a few years after this, sent a thrill of horror through every castle in the North, as we learn from the Brodie Diary.* The Commissioner consulted with them "whether he should pass the Act, which he knew to be the king's darling design, or delay it." Sir Archibald Primrose, ancestor of the Earl of Roseberry, advised delay, but Middleton answered, "that the Parliament was now at his beck, that he loved to serve his master genteelly, and do his business at one stroke." The resolution was applauded as noble and generous; and the business, as we have seen, *was* done "at one stroke."† The obsequious Parliament had made preparation for doing it by passing a series of Acts as thoroughly imbued with the spirit of Cæsarism as Hobbes, Charles's guide, philosopher, and friend, could desire. The first of the series decreed a new oath of allegiance acknowledging the king as supreme governor "*in all causes.*" Another suspended the right of public meeting, to treat, consult or determine, in any matter of state, civil or ecclesiastical, without the royal permission; and a third rescinded the Acts of Parliament since 1633, thus abolishing all in favour of Presbytery.

The ground being now cleared, effect is speedily given to the royal will. A hierarchy has to be brought into existence. Four Scotchmen—Sharp, Leighton, Fairfoul, and Hamilton—post up to London to receive

* Brodie Diary, p. 399. † Wodrow's History, Book I., chap. ii.

consecration at the hands of the English Episcopate. The punctilious bishops of the Anglican Church find that two of their number, Sharp and Leighton—who does not grieve to find Leighton in such company?—are not eligible for consecration, as they had been ordained to the ministry by non-Episcopal hands. The disqualification is removed, after some demur on the part of Sharp, by their receiving ordination anew at the hands of Sheldon, Bishop of London, and thus submitting to the degradation of having their Presbyterian ordination declared a nullity, and the sacred office it conferred, an imposture. They are dubbed deacons, priests and bishops, all in one day; the officiating prelate sneering publicly at the ease with which they can swallow their Presbyterian scruples. The consecration takes place in Westminster Abbey, with great pomp and circumstance. Lord Brodie is then in London, trying in vain to get his Breda expenses repaid him; but though he has met with Leighton and taken to him, he will not go to see the humiliating show.* Made a bishop by a bishop, Sharp is made a primate by the king. A patent is immediately issued, in which Charles, "*ex authoritate regali, et potestate regia, certa scientia; proprioque motu,*" makes, creates and ordains Doctor James Sharp, Archbishop of St Andrews and Primate of all Scotland. Full of the mystic grace imparted by prelatic hands, the *quondam* Presbyterian ministers hasten down to Scotland, and impart the sacred gift to nine others, who are raised to the Episcopal bench along with old Sydserf of Orkney, the only survivor of the bishops deposed by the Glasgow Assembly of 1638. Of the new hierarchy, Mr

* Appendix, Note E.

Murdoch Mackenzie, minister at Elgin, is assigned the diocese of Moray, and John Paterson, one of the ministers of Aberdeen, that of Ross.

I do not know whether Bishop Mackenzie was a native of the Province of Moray, but I find that his father, a cadet of the family of Gairloch, is styled "of Pluscardy," which I take to be Pluscarden. He was born in 1600, and died in 1688. His long life, rather an eventful one for a clergyman, presents some strong contrasts. Ordained by the Bishop of Ross, he appears, first, as chaplain to the troops brought over to Germany by Lord Reay and the Baron of Fowlis to assist Gustavus Adolphus. For four years he is minister of Contin. From 1640 to 1645 he is minister of the first charge of Inverness. Thence he is translated to Elgin having been elected after a keen struggle. In 1662 he accepts the Bishopric of Moray, and, fifteen years later that of Orkney, which he holds till his death—a period of eleven years. The impression one receives of him from such incidental notices as occur in Baillie's Letters, Wodrow's History, the Brodie Diary and other authorities I have consulted, is that of a worldly, time-serving, plausible man, with a steady eye to the main chance. His moral tone is not high, though he can be loud enough in profession. Lord Brodie seems to have disliked the man as well as the bishop. Lilias Dunbar whose acquaintance we shall make in our next Lecture, pronounces his sermons "unedifying and fruitless." In Baillie's Letters I find the following reference to Bishop Mackenzie while he was yet minister of Inverness:—"At Aberdeen (that is, in the Assembly that met there in 1641), there had been much adoe for planting of Innernesse. The Laird of Strichen, patron, had

presented Mr James Annan. More than the two part of the parish speaking Irish (Gaelic) obtained Mr Murdoch Mackenzie, a bold weell-spoken man, to be conjoyned to ane equall stipend and burden. This equalitie Mr Murdoch urged and refused to preach to the Irish Congregation bot day about, so everie other Sunday they sang dumb. After some dayes travell, it was thus agreed, that a third man should be gotten to those who had never more nor one before, to preach in Irish on fyve hundereth merks, the town to pay three, the two ministers each one."* With this may be bracketted the pithy sentence in which Wodrow hits off the bishop's character:—"While a minister, he was famous for searching people's kitchens on Christmas Day for the superstitious goose, telling them the feathers of them would rise up in judgment against them one day; and when a bishop, as famous for affecting to fall a preaching on the deceitfulness of riches while he was drawing the money over the board to him."† Within three years of the time when his Presbyterian zeal against holidays led him on this wild goose chase through the kitchens of Elgin, Mr Murdoch was a consecrated prelate. A goose had attractions for him still. When he was about to be translated to Orkney, the benefice of which was one of the best in Scotland, some one—it was Lord Brodie‡—took the liberty of remarking to him that he was going to eat a fat goose. "A goose is all the better of being a fat one," was the pawky reply.

He held his first Diocesan Synod as Bishop of Moray on the third Tuesday of October 1662. It

* Baillie's Letters, Vol. ii., p. 369.
† Wodrow History, Book I., chap. ii. ‡ Brodie Diary, p. 358.

was well attended. The bishop opened the proceedings by informing his auditors of his appointment. He then preached a sermon from Jeremiah vi. 16, "Stand ye in the ways, and see, and ask for the old paths, where is the good way, and walk therein, and ye shall find rest for your souls." Of course, Episcopacy was the good old way. "None of his hearers," says Mr Robert Young of Elgin, to whose interesting book on Spynie I am indebted for some of my facts, "ventured to make the reply stated by the prophet in the same verse, 'We will not walk therein." Of course not. The reverend brethren had privately agreed, more than a year before, to accept the new order of things; and we find them meeting on the 2nd July 1661, to draw up a cringing address to Commissioner Middleton, in which they do not once mention the Protestant religion or Presbyterian Church government, but thankfully acknowledge themselves inhibited by his Majesty, "from meddling in matters belonging to Church government!" What hand so fit as that of Mr Murdoch Mackenzie for presenting this loyal address to the representative of Majesty! He presents it, and receives the rochet in return. You may believe, if you like, that neither Mr Murdoch nor his brethren knew anything of the honour in store for him when he set out from Elgin on his journey south, but it is worth your while to notice, how zealously the Synod, and the Presbytery of Elgin in particular, had set themselves to please Sharp and the king, from the hour the Restoration was an accomplished fact.

A collection had been ordered to be made, I presume in all parishes, for defraying the expenses incurred by

Sharp in connection with his mission to London and Breda. Two ministers of the Presbytery of Elgin, James Park of Urquhart, and Thomas Urquhart of Essil, an old parish now incorporated in Speymouth, refused to make the collection; Urquhart declaring bluntly, "he would give no money to Sharp, because he was reported to be a man keeping up debates." For this they were taken to task by the Presbytery; and the minister of Essil "was sharply admonished for his unbrotherly carriage, and exhorted to speak more soberly of eminent ministers of the Church." For Mr Park, the brethren had a sharper rod in pickle. He had said in a lecture on Proverbs xxi. 1, 7, "Great men and nobles had suffered for tyranny, and he wished those who succeed after to look to their ways that they come not to a like danger,"—language which the loyal divines of Elgin construed into an approval of the execution of Charles I., and an incentive to rebellion against his son. For an offence so grave any punishment short of deposition would be too lenient. The minister of Urquhart was deposed accordingly.* This was in August 1660. In October the Synod convenes, burning with zeal for the powers that be. They administer a sharp rebuke to Patrick Glass, minister of Edinkillie; and depose from the office of the eldership Sir Ludovick Gordon of Gordonstown, Alexander Brodie of Brodie (Lord Brodie), Alexander Brodie of Lethen, Patrick Campbell of Both, Hugh Campbell of Auchindune, James Buchan, William Alves in Forres, and Robert Watson in Rafford. What is the offence of these men? Simply this. Nine years before they had protested against a finding

* Fasti Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ, Vol. iii., Part i., pp. 169–173.

of the Synod approving of the arbitrary action of the General Assembly of 1651. To understand the grounds of this tyrannical sentence, a slight reference to the deplorable controversy between the Resolutioners and the Protestors, which rent the Church of Scotland during the times of the commonwealth, is necessary. The latter were the strict, uncompromising, adherents of the Covenant, who protested against two resolutions passed by a Commission of Assembly, which were construed as sanctioning a junction of the Covenanters with the royalist opponents of the Covenant, or "Malignants," as they were termed in the strong language of the day, for the common support of the throne. Those who favoured this fusion of parties as expedient in the circumstances were called Resolutioners, because they supported the Resolutions referred to. In 1651 they were the party in power. They called an Assembly to be held at St Andrews in July of that year, but cited the Protestors to appear at its bar as liable to censure. As this was a denial of their right to sit as members of the house, the Protestors protested again, impugning the legality and freedom of the Assembly itself. It was against a resolution of the Synod of Moray approving of this Assembly that Sir Ludovick Gordon and his friends protested; and now, because the king declared in his letter to the Presbytery of Edinburgh, that he would uphold the acts of that Assembly, Mackenzie and the Synod must needs give the world a proof of their devotion to the royal will by deposing these Protestors.

It was at the meeting in July 1661, I take it, that the celebrated Thomas Hogg, minister of Kiltearn, was deposed. The point is involved in some obscurity.

Wodrow and others ascribe the act to the Synod of Ross, and yet represent the sentence as pronounced by Mr Murdoch Mackenzie, in the capacity of moderator of Synod. In the copy of Wodrow which I have consulted—a beautiful specimen of the Folio Edition of 1721 and 1722,—I find on the margin, opposite this reference to Mackenzie, the following note written in a neat italian hand:—"This seems a mistake, for Mr Murdoch Mackenzie was then Minister at Elgin, and might have been a correspondent with, but not moderator of the Synod of Ross." The explanation is this, there was no Synod of Ross at the time, but a United Presbytery of Ross and Sutherland, which formed a part of the Synod of Moray. Nothing is more likely than that the chair of the Synod should be filled at this time by the ambitious minister of Elgin; and it may certainly be assumed that the meeting which adopted the fawning address to Middleton was fully equal to the deposition of Thomas Hogg. This eminent man of God, whose memory is still cherished in Ross and Nairn, was born in Tain, of respectable parentage, in the year 1628. Having studied with distinction at Marischal College, Aberdeen, he became domestic chaplain to the good Earl of Sutherland. While residing at Dunrobin he passed through a great mental conflict, out of which he emerged—not without being indebted to the godly guidance of the pious Countess —a very Boanerges in spiritual force and fire, a very Barnabas in skill to minister consolation to souls distressed. Ordained minister of Kiltearn in October 1654, he laboured with indomitable energy and marked success in the work of the Lord. Like good clansmen, the Monroes followed their chief in professing a

deep attachment to the Presbyterian Church, but, with the exception of the baron himself and a few gentlemen of his name—veterans who had learned more than the art of military discipline from the gallant Swede,—there were few examples of vital godliness on the fair slopes of Ferindonald. Soon, however, a change became evident. The blessing of heaven descended on the efforts of the young minister, who was as methodic and unwearied in the externals of pastoral work, as he was resolute of will, fervent in spirit, mighty in the Scriptures, and instant in prayer. "His people," we are told, "were awakened to hear, and he was encouraged to preach. The dry bones began to revive, and pleasant blossoms and hopeful appearances displayed themselves everywhere throughout the parish."* Meetings for prayer and spiritual conference sprung up in every hamlet. The morning and evening sacrifice became almost universal from the baronial hall to the meanest cottage; and the district began to be known by an appellation by which it was long distinguished—"the Holy Land." So testifies the late Mr Findlater of Durness, a native of the parish.

Such was the man whom the Synod resolved to sacrifice to their devotion to Prelacy and the royal prerogative. Let the graphic pen of Hugh Miller, paraphrasing the account in Wodrow, describe the incident for us. "The moderator was one Murdoch Mackenzie, a man so strong in his attachments that he had previously sworn to the National Covenant no fewer than fourteen times, and he had now fallen desperately in love with the bishopric of Moray. One of his brethren,

* Stevenson's Life of Hogg.

however, an unmanageable, dangerous person, for he was uncompromisingly honest and possessed of very considerable talent, stood directly in the way of his preferment. This member, the celebrated Mr Thomas Hogg of Kiltearn, had not sworn the Covenant half so often as his superior, the moderator, but then so wrong-headed was he as to regard his oaths as binding; and he could not bring himself to like Prelacy any the better for its being espoused by the king. And so his expulsion was evidently a matter of necessity. The moderator had nothing to urge against his practice,—for no one could excel him in the art of living well; but his opinions lay more within his reach; and no sooner had the Synod met, than, singling him out, he demanded what his thoughts were of the Protestors. Mr Hogg declined to answer; and on being removed, that the Synod might deliberate, the moderator rose and addressed them. Their brother of Kiltearn, he said, was certainly a great man—a very great man—but as certainly were the Protestors opposed to the king; and if any member of Synod took part with them, whatever his character, it was certainly the duty of the other members to have him expelled. Mr Hogg was then called in, and having refused, as was anticipated, judicially to disown the Protestors, sentence of deposition was passed against him. But the consciences of the men who thus dealt with him betrayed, in a very remarkable manner, their real estimate of his conduct. The sentence was passed with a peculiar air of veneration, as if they were consecrating him to a higher office; and the moderator was so deprived of his self-possession, as to remind him, in a consolatory speech, that our Lord Jesus Christ had suffered great wrong

from the Scribes and Pharisees."* So far Hugh Miller. Can we not imagine the scene:—the Moderator, to whom the dignity of years at least is not wanting, calling on the accused to stand in his place: Mr Hogg rising up—a powerful man, in his prime—he was only thirty-three, and we are told he stood full six feet high, and was proportionally strong and vigorous,—turning to the Moderator, looking him full in the face, and fastening on him that glance of truth and majesty which had, ere now, subdued the haughty colonel, and the rude tinker.† Beneath that glance, which searches his soul to its lowest depth of hypocrisy and avarice, Mackenzie quails, "bold weel-spoken man" as he is; and losing self-possession, speaks for once with honesty, albeit not with dignity, justifies the accused, and condemns himself.

It does not appear that Mr Hogg was immediately ejected from his benefice in consequence of this sentence; but, doubtless, he was turned out the following year, in common with seven others in Moray and Ross who refused to attend the Diocesan Synods and receive collation from the bishops—viz.: Thomas Urquhart of Essil, James Urquhart of Kinloss, John M'Culloch of Ardersier, Andrew Ross of Tain, Thomas Ross, probably of Kincardine, John M'Killican of Fodderty, and Hugh Anderson of Cromarty. Deprived of their benefices by an Act of the Privy Council, 1st October 1662, these faithful men were ejected from their homes in the month of December, and forbidden to take up their abode within twenty miles of their respective churches. Hugh Miller, preserving, and giving language to a local

* Miller's Scenes and Legends, p. 112.
† See Stevenson's Life of Hogg.

tradition, thus describes the day on which Anderson of Cromarty, and some four hundred ministers in different parts of the country, were evicted from their manses:—"It was early in December. There had been a severe and still increasing snow-storm for the two previous days; the earth was deeply covered; and a strong biting gale from the north-east was now drifting the snow half way up the side walls of the manse. The distant hills rose like so many shrouded spectres over the dark and melancholy sea—their heads enveloped in broken wreaths of livid cloud; nature lay dead, and the very firmament, blackened with tempest, seemed a huge burial vault."* A touching legend represents the young minister as crushed in spirit by a deep personal grief on that day of gloom and storm—fit emblem of the dark and trying experience through which the church had now to pass. He crossed the threshold of his house for the last time, bearing to its resting place the dead body of a beloved sister, who had been his only companion.

To this little band of witnesses in our Northern district must be added the names of James Park of Urquhart, already deposed by the Presbytery of Elgin, and of George Meldrum, minister of Glass, who was ejected two years later for refusing to acknowledge Episcopacy, after Bishop Mackenzie had expended upon him all the resources of his Prelatic logic. The two Urquharts were formally deposed by the Bishop of Moray in 1663, and John M'Killican by the Bishop of Ross. I have not been able to learn that his lord ship of Moray appended any reason to the sentence which he pronounced, but that passed on the minister

* Scenes and Legends, p. 186.

of Fodderty bore to be for "absenting himself from the diocesan meeting, not answering the citation, and preaching, praying, and reasoning against the Prelatical government." I have no doubt Bishop Paterson had cause to feel sore on the point of Mr M'Killican's "preaching and praying, and reasoning against the Prelatical government."

After Thomas Hogg, John M'Killican held the foremost place among our Northern Nonconformists.* I have not been able to ascertain where this good man was born, but the presumption is it was in the Valley of the Nairn, or in its immediate neighbourhood. I infer this from two facts. The name, rather an uncommon one, is most frequently met with in the district indicated. M'Killican applied as a student to the Presbytery of Forres for their "Divinity Burse," and they adjudged it to him after consulting the Presbytery of Inverness regarding him. The condition on which he received the bursary from the Presbytery of Forres was, that he should make the first offer of his services to them. This he did after receiving licence from the Presbytery of Aberdeen in 1655. Previous to that date he may have been like his friend Thomas Hogg, Chaplain to the Earl of Sutherland, for I find in the Brodie Diary, under date 13th October 1653, the following entry:—"There came a new call and invitation to Mr John M'Killican from Earl of Sutherland: besought the Lord to direct him, and to keep him low and little in his own eyes." A call from the North of Ireland he declined. The Presbytery pressed him to go to Islay, at that time the property of the Cawdor

* The term "Nonconformist" is not a word of recent importation into Scottish Church history. It occurs frequently in the Brodie Diary.

family; but he steadily refused, greatly to the annoyance of Lord Brodie, who pronounces him a man of a "peremptor spirit." The fact was, he had made up his mind to accept the call from Fodderty, a step to which he was strongly urged by the minister of Kiltearn; and he was inducted on the 26th February 1656. He was pretty frequently in Moray after that. There are numerous references to him in the Brodie Diary; this among others, "He preaches well." I doubt if the clergy of Moray would unanimously endorse this judgment, for we find an accusation brought against him in the Synod, 8th April 1657, of "uttering reproaches against ministers." Mr M'Killican was evidently an independent, outspoken man, with a pretty stiff stalk of carle hemp in him; and I suppose he had given freer utterance to his estimate of the worldly, self-seeking character, and cold lifeless preaching of some of his brethren, than was altogether agreeable to them.

To illustrate adherence to principle by self-sacrifice was more than could be looked for from the men who brought this charge against the minister of Fodderty. We need not wonder, that when four hundred of their brethren throughout the land accepted ejection from their pleasant manses rather than acquiesce in the new order of things, our prudent Moray ministers forgot their Covenant pledges, helped Mr Murdoch to vault into the Episcopal throne, and meekly bowed their necks to the Episcopal yoke. And yet, were there not some among them of whom better things might be expected? If William Tulloch of Spynie was the *vir vere pius et probus* his epitaph proclaims him, he ought to have come out. What has become of William

Falconar of Dyke, who sat on the Glasgow Assembly's Committee of Thirteen, to prepare the charges against the bishops? Where is Harry Forbes, whom the good Lord Brodie has secured for Auldearn by the aid of Thomas Hogg? And Hugh Rose, minister of Nairn, well-known to Scottish genealogists by his History of the Family of Kilravock? The Spirit that breathes through his pious, if somewhat common-place "Meditations on Interesting Subjects,"* would find its natural element in the society of the Hoggs and the M'Killicans, the Urquharts and the Rosses, but evidently his spiritual character had not backbone enough to bear the yoke which they had to carry.

These men were found wanting in the day of trial; but let us not bear too hard on them. They had strong temptations to conform. They were weary of the miserable contentions which divided the Presbyterian councils. Some of their number were quiet, gentle men, who wanted to be let alone to do the pastoral work of their parishes in peace. The new system permitted them to conduct public worship much as they were accustomed to conduct it. Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh—"the Bluidie Mackenzie," as the Covenanters had good reason to call him,—and, permit me to say in passing, that though we cannot altogether disown him as a north-countryman, seeing that his father was Simon Mackenzie of Lochslin, brother of the Earl of Seaforth, and that he himself lived occasionally at Fortrose, and in Ormond Castle overlooking Munlochy Bay, there is some satisfaction in knowing that he was born in the town

* A book published in Inverness, 1761, about eighty years after the author's death. See Appendix, Note F.

of Dundee,—well, Sir George says, in his Vindication of the Government of Charles II., evidently with the feeling that he has made a point:—"The reader will be astonished when I inform him that the way of worship in our Church (he means the Prelatic, as established by Charles) differed in nothing from what the Presbyterians themselves preached, excepting that we used the Doxology, the Lord's Prayer, and in Baptism, the Creed—all which they rejected. We had no ceremonies, surplices, altars, crosses in baptism, nor the meanest of those things which would be allowed in England by way of accommodation." The Lord Advocate states no more than the truth. The patrons of Prelacy had profited so far by the experience gained in the reign of Charles I., that they made no attempt to reimpose the obnoxious Service-Book. It may be conceded that the changes which they introducted in public worship were such as might be allowed to pass "by way of accommodation" had they stood alone. They deviated so little from the rubric of the Westminster Directory that plain men might well be excused if they deemed them harmless. One at least of these changes was not an innovation upon, but a return to, the ancient practice of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. I have before me an exceedingly interesting, and in some respects highly amusing book, written after the Revolution by Sir Hugh Campbell of Cawdor. It consists of an essay in favour of the use of the Lord's Prayer in public worship, and a collection of letters to several successive General Assemblies, and to the United Presbytery of Forres and Inverness, in which the worthy knight, with considerable weight of argument and some warmth of temper, urges these Courts to restore the Lord's Prayer

to its former place in the rubric of public worship. It does not lie in our way to discuss the merits of the controversy, or to comment on the evidence which the Thane gave of the strength of his own convictions by persuading the parish of Ardersier to remain vacant for several years, rather than accept a minister who would not pledge himself to the constant use of the Lord's Prayer in public. I refer to the matter now merely for the sake of the following quotation. I abridge Sir Hugh's somewhat prolix statement:—"Till the year 1649, the Presbyterians in Scotland were all in use to conclude their public prayers with our Lord's Prayer. And of this I myself was a witness when I was at the school of Forres, where I learned my grammar. I heard every member of the Presbytery of Forres conclude his prayer with the Lord's Prayer as often as they preached, and at the meetings of the Presbytery. If it be inquired how they came to abandon this Christian custom in the year 1649, I shall give you what account I had of it. There was one in that Assembly of more than ordinary credit among them, who, with more zeal than knowledge, stated that many, especially of the commons, made use of no other prayer (than the Lord's Prayer), which they repeated by rote, without understanding or faith, to which they were very much encouraged by the ministers concluding their public worship with the Lord's Prayer. And therefore, said he, it is my opinion that the Assembly, by an Act, discharge any more use of this prayer in public as a form. The man that spoke was, as I have said, of more than ordinary credit among his brethren, so that they easily complied with his Overture, and ordered the Moderator to form an

Act to this purpose. This he essayed to do, once and again, but at last told the Assembly that he could not find language for such an Act, which would undoubtedly displease all the Churches abroad, and a great many friends, as well as others, at home; that therefore it was his advice, that the ministers who were members of the Assembly should first forbear it themselves, and should, when they went home, acquaint their brethren that it was the will of the Assembly that the public use of the Lord's Prayer should be universally forborne in all the churches of the kingdom. The greater number easily complied with this overture as that which would give least offence, and the others complied for peace."* We learn from Baillie's Letters that Robert Douglas of Edinburgh was Moderator of this Assembly, the last that was allowed to sit till after the Revolution. Who was "the person of more than ordinary credit" to whom Sir Hugh refers I have not been able to ascertain: but as Samuel Rutherford was a member I conjecture it was he.†

But to return from what is very much a digression. The changes made in the observance of public worship were not in themselves calculated to alarm sound Presbyterians. Indeed, the matter at issue now was not the form of public worship, but the form of Church government, and above all, the source and head of government. The hinge on which the long bloody controversy turned was our peculiar Scottish doctrine of *spiritual independence.* Is the king supreme in all causes, spiritual as well as civil? Charles maintained

* An Essay on the Lord's Prayer, by Sir Hugh Campbell of Calder. Edinburgh, 1709. P. 13.

† Baillie's Letters, Vol. iii., p. 89.

the affirmative by the argument of the sword, wielded by a cruel and relentless hand. The Covenanting king was determined, at all hazards, to subject the Church to his sovereign will. The Covenanting people, fully persuaded that God alone is Lord of the conscience, and Christ alone Head of the Church, were resolute in resisting him. They believed that the Church is Christ's peculiar kingdom, where He exercises an immediate authority, which can be delegated to none other; and they held that they were bound to keep themselves free for the direct guidance of Christ by His Spirit, through the Word, in answer to their prayers. To accomplish his purpose, Charles saw that it was necessary to overthrow the venerable democratic order of Presbytery, and plant the Episcopate in its room. Prelacy, he shrewdly judged, was the natural ally of an absolute throne. The people were by no means indifferent to what they deemed the unscriptural origin of Prelacy, but it was its relation to the encroachments of the Crown that made it so peculiarly obnoxious in their eyes. It was mainly because they regarded it as the chosen representative and subservient tool of a high-handed and thorough-going Erastianism, that they refused to submit to it. They saw that a higher question than the authority of Presbytery was involved in the quarrel, to wit, the supremacy of Christ in His own peculiar kingdom, and their allegiance to Him as His spiritual subjects. Hence their rallying cry was not "For Presbytery and Covenant," but, "For Christ's Crown and Covenant."

It is scarcely matter of wonder, however, that plain men in these outlying northern parts did not perceive at once that all this was involved. But as events pro-

gressed, the issues at stake became more evident; and some who were tempted at first to conform to the new order of things, became its decided opponents, while others followed it with an uneasy conscience. Mr Harry Forbes of Auldearn complied with the bishops, but he speedily repented of it; and after sundry consultations with Lord Brodie demitted his charge. So also did Mr George Innes, minister at Dipple. Mr William Falconar of Dyke would seem to have felt it necessary to explain, once and again, in what sense he took the Covenants.

But if the majority of the clergy of Moray and Ross gave satisfaction to the bishops by their conformity, there were not a few of the laity whom they had good reason to suspect of disaffection to their order. Nor were these the poor and illiterate, but the more wealthy, and best educated of the population, including several proprietors of the soil. From a document in the Appendix to Wodrow's History—a list of fines which the cupidity of Middleton induced him to impose as exceptions to the Indemnity granted by the king on his accession,—we may form a tolerably correct idea of the hold which Presbytery retained of the affections of the district. Forty-seven persons in the counties of Ross, Cromarty, Inverness, Nairn, and Elgin, are amerced in sums ranging from £360 to £18,000 Scots. The Laird of Grant has the highest sum attached to his name. Campbell of Calder comes next for £12,000. We come upon such familiar names as Brodie of that Ilk, Brodie of Lethen, elder and younger; Hay, Tutor of Park; Campbell of Boath; Macpherson, Tutor of Cluny; Mackintosh of Conage, Mackenzie of Kilcoy, John Forbes of Culloden, Munro of Fowlis, Munro of Culcairn; the

Lairds of Sandwick, Kindeace, and Pitcalny, all Rosses in those days; and Hector Douglas of Mildearg in Fearn. Six burgesses of Inverness, headed by Alexander Dunbar, the Provost, and including George Leslie, the town-clerk, and William Duff, collector of Excise, figure in the list. There are also one burgess of Tain, Andrew M'Culloch, and one of Nairn, John Tulloch. Elgin and Forres are conspicuous by their absence.

It would appear from this document that sympathy with the Presbyterian cause was strongest in Easter Ross, in Nairnshire, and the western district of Moray, and in the town of Inverness and its neighbourhood, And yet the Court of High Commission must have thought both Inverness and Elgin safe places for Episcopacy, for we find it, in 1662, banishing Hamilton of Aikenhead and Porterfield of Douchal—two prominent Covenanting gentlemen of Renfrewshire—to these towns respectively. It soon became evident, however, that in this it was only repeating the mistake of half a century before, when it banished Robert Bruce to the same quarter, and thereby helped to disseminate the principles which it wished to suppress. In 1666 Bishop Paterson of Ross, writing to his son, "begs him to acquaint my Lord of St Andrews that he looks upon the temper of the country about him to be very cloudy-like." He complains of a friendship made up between Seaforth and Argyll, and of a change in many, who pretended to be friends to Prelacy when it was set up. He adds:—"It is certain the Westland gentlemen who are confined to Elgin and Inverness have done more harm by their coming north, by two stages, than they would have done in their own houses. They

have alienated the hearts of many who were of another principle before. They have meetings with our great folks, and are better respected nor any bishop in Scotland would be"—no doubt a sore point. He begs they may be recalled, "that they spread not their infection any more;" and he adds:—"They are the staple of intelligence between the West and North among the fanatic party."* Soon after, the Westland gentlemen were allowed to return home.

In the neighbourhood of Nairn and Forres the landed proprietors, with scarcely a single exception, were hostile to the bishops. They manifested their hostility by sheltering the outed ministers, and refraining from attending the parish churches, or "refusing to keep the kirk"—a phrase of constant occurrence in certain documents of the time. From the friendly disposition of the leading families, and from other causes, this district became a noted asylum for the persecuted ministers. There were some of them who had properties of their own to retire to, when evicted from their parishes. George Meldrum, minister of Glass, resided for several years on his estate of Crombie, in Banffshire. Hugh Anderson was proprietor of Udol, in the neighbourhood of Cromarty, and withdrew to it when driven from the manse, though he appears to have lived at intervals in the town, protected by the Earl of Seaforth, who was very friendly to him. John M'Killican had a property in Alness, which may have come to him by his wife, Catherine Munro, and on it he resided when ejected from Fodderty. Others, however, were not so favourably circumstanced. Thomas Hogg was not an owner of the soil, but he was

* Wodrow's History, Book II., chap. i.

connected with those who were—the ancient but decaying house of the Hays of Lochloy and Park. This family —a branch of the Hays of Errol—were in possession of the greater part of the parish of Auldearn for upwards of four hundred years. Their chief seat was Inshoch, the picturesque ruins of which you notice on your right as you ride by rail from Nairn to Brodie. The last of the old line, John Hay of Park, was head of the house at the time to which this Lecture refers. From notices of him in the Brodie, Kilravock, and Cawdor Papers, he appears to have been a pious man, and a staunch Covenanter. His sister became Mr Thomas Hogg's wife,* at what precise date we know not, but it must have been subsequent to April 1656; for under the 12th of that month we find the following entry in the Brodie Diary:—"Mr Thomas Hogg did move marriage to my"—some name or other, in undecipherable shorthand. The editor of the Diary conjectures the lady may have been Brodie's daughter. Anyhow, the Judge did not favour the movement, so the minister went to Inshoch, where he met with greater success. To his godly brother-in-law Mr Hogg was indebted for a home when the persecuting attentions of Bishop Paterson drove him from Kiltearn. He appears to have lived for a considerable time with the family at Inshoch Castle; at least all the references in the Brodie Diary up to 1672 point to that place as his residence. Eventually, the Laird of Park assigned him the house and farm of Knockoudie, a place scarce half a mile to the west of the Free Church of Auldearn. It is possible, however, that he may have been in possession of Knockoudie from the first; though it is

* Stevenson's Life of Hogg.

Photo.-Litho. by Cooper & Co., Inverness. Melven Brothers, Lithos.

INSHOCH CASTLE.

evident that he spent much of his time at Inshoch until the death of his saintly mother-in-law, the dowager Lady of Park. In either case, his home was in Auldearn for twenty years—a considerably longer time than he lived in Kiltearn.

There is no trace now of the house of Knockoudie. The ploughshare has passed over its foundations a thousand times, but we cannot doubt that its site is remembered by many in glory. "And it of Sion shall be said, This man and that man there was born." In defiance both of the sentence of deposition passed upon him, and of the Acts against Conventicles—as all religious gatherings not held in the parish churches were called,—he preached every Sabbath in his own house. Many resorted to him from all the parishes round about, and some, we know, from distant Kiltearn. There was public worship in the churches of all these parishes; but the more thoughtful of the people found little to attract them in the ministrations of the parochial incumbents. Some of them were positively immoral in their lives, and many of them were cunning time-serving hirelings of a low type of character, without a personal sense of religion, and incapable of exercising any influence for good on those around them.* No doubt there were men of more respectable character to be met with here and there, and there were a few who seem to have been evangelical in their preaching and consistent in their private life. Lord Brodie saw it expedient to attend the parish church of Dyke occasionally, though he was much exercised in spirit as to the propriety of the proceeding, and on one occasion

* Fasti Ecc. Scot., Vol. iii., Miller's Scenes and Legends, Brodie Diary, Wodrow, etc.

at least turned back at the church door; but as often as he went, and as often as he heard the minister "exercise," he recorded in his diary, "Mr William, he was very dry," or some equally suggestive comment. This expresses the estimate generally formed of the Episcopal incumbents by the more enlightened of the people. Between them and the outed ministers men drew a distinction deeper and broader than any involved in questions of Church government—the distinction between death and life. With a finely tempered edge on their spirits, these men of God, who had given evidence not to be gainsayed of the depth and intensity of their own convictions, wielded the Word of God as a weapon sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow; and their hearers felt that they were in the presence of a living power which discerned the thoughts and intents of the heart. The Lord wrought with them as they preached, confirming the Word with signs following. "After he came to that place," it is said of Hogg, "there were thirty or forty who could give a distinct account of the saving work of God's Spirit upon their souls." Thirty or forty, I dare say, would be reckoned but a small sheaf by some of our modern reapers in the evangelical field; but, on the other hand, I suspect Thomas Hogg would have difficulty in finding among hundreds of our modern converts thirty or forty who could give what he would regard "as a distinct account of the saving work of God's Spirit upon their souls." Even in his own day there were those who thought he pitched his standard too high. Referring to a conversation with Mr Hogg, Lord Brodie writes:—"I thought him too rigid in the

marks of saving grace and as to the state of men. I fear he may be in an error, and I fear my own weakness may be on the other extremity." Judging, however, from what we know of two or three of their number whose names have been handed down to us, the converts of Hogg's ministry at Knockoudie must have been made of right sterling stuff. James Nimmo, a gentleman of these parts, and his wife—one of the Brodies,—were both brought to the knowledge of the truth under Thomas Hogg, and both entertained for him a child-like affection and veneration, as for their spiritual father. Their attachment to his person, and their sympathy with his sentiments, exposed them to much persecution, which they endured to a large extent in his company. It is remarkable that their three children were baptized by him, each in a different kingdom—the eldest in Scotland, the second in England, and the youngest in Holland. Mr Nimmo, who became Treasurer of the City of Edinburgh, speaks of Mr Hogg in terms of the warmest eulogy, referring with something like a feeling of personal pride to the ascendancy over both foes and friends which he acquired by his clear intellect, solid judgment, high-toned spirituality of mind, firmness of character, and courtesy of demeanour. "In his Master's concerns," he says, "Mr Hogg always spoke as one having authority, yet without the least evidence of rancour or irritation." Another of Mr Hogg's spiritual children was William Balloch, who became his most faithful servant, and constant attendant, and cherished friend. For the last twenty-five years of his life, whether at home or in exile, in prison or in hiding, this prince of ministers' men was at his side. Mr Hog of Carnock,

and Mr Stewart, who succeeded Thomas Hogg as minister of Kiltearn, gave William Balloch the character, that he was one of the most judicious, faithful, and eminent persons they ever knew of his station.* The farm of Knockoudie seems to have been managed by him. According to a traditionary anecdote, current among the old people of Nairnshire, Mr Hogg came upon his servant one day as he was unloosing the oxen from the plough. "How fares it with you to-day, William?" said the minister. "Very well, sir," was the reply. "I go in between the oxen before I take them out in the morning, and before I take them out at midday, and after I have put them up for the night, and I bow my knees and call upon the Lord, and He condescends to bow the heavens and come down and give me His presence there." "Happy man!" said the master, who may not have been in his brightest frame at the time,—"I envy you. I have spent whole days studying His Word, and calling upon His name, without being able to say that He bows the heavens and comes down and gives me His presence." Another anecdote, illustrative of the spiritual affinity which subsisted between master and man, may be given on the authority of Mr Hog of Carnock. On one occasion William Balloch was seized with fever, which left him in a very weak and prostrate state. In this condition he fell a prey to dark doubts and fears that greatly distressed him. Hoping his master would be able to speak a word of comfort to his case, he contrived to scramble up stairs, on his hands and feet, to Mr Hogg's apartment. The minister was about to preach, and declined to speak with him then. The poor man re-

* Stevenson's Life of Hogg.

tired, disappointed, to his bed; but as Mr Hogg's dwelling was also his chapel, and as the partitions were, in all probability, none of the closest, the invalid had the privilege of listening to the sermon, and the sur prise and gratification of hearing the several temptations of which he meant to inform his master distinctly mentioned, and their fallacies exposed. "Thus," adds the minister of Carnock, "the Lord, by his own ordinance, made known to His poor servant all that was in his heart: and in that manner a happy cure was bestowed on his soul, which issued in the recovery of his health." There were many other eminent Christians who were indebted to Mr Hogg as the instrument of their conversion, or of their edification. We may mention, in the meantime, Thomas Taylor, of whom Stevenson says, "This learned and faithful man had a most deep, distinct, and long exercise under Mr Hogg's ministry, and in the end got a clear and safe outgate, and was thereafter an eminent and shining light both in Scotland and Ireland."

How he dealt with persons under concern may be gathered from the following sentence quoted from Mr Nimmo's account:—"It was his great care as a father to convince and humble them by the Lord's assistance, and then to comfort and confirm them in due time: to do which the Lord, both by preaching and conference, greatly assisted him, more, I judge, than any in his day." A more detailed account of his method is furnished in a document given in Stevenson's Life, entitled "An Abstract of Mr Hogg's manner of dealing with persons under conviction," a short extract from which is added in the Appendix.* His style of preaching appears to

* Appendix, Note G.

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have been distinguished by peculiar solemnity and unction. "I have had," says Mr James Hog, referring to a later period of his life, "the desirable occupation to hear him preach at the Hague, and his sermons were accompanied with the greatest measure of life and power I have ever had the opportunity to observe in my poor life." Nor were these sermons the rambling and tedious prelections in which, as we are apt to imagine, the old Covenanting ministers indulged. "He kept time and measure in everything. However lively the frame of his own soul was, he never insisted long in social duties."*

Standing at the door of the Free Church Manse of Auldearn and looking south, you have before you the steep gorse-covered side of the Hill of the Aar. The rugged slope is furrowed by several torrent courses. One of these, somewhat deeper and wider than the others, with a mass of gray boulder shutting it in at the lower end, you observe above the farm-house of Dalmore. This ravine is still known as Hogg's Strype. To this sheltered hollow Hogg retired with the congregation, which had grown too large for the dwelling and barns of Knockoudie. There, for many a Sabbath, with the granite boulder as his pulpit, and the blue sky as his canopy, he preached the Word with power. This was defying the Act against Conventicles with a witness; for the Act was peculiarly stringent with respect to meetings in the fields. But the outed minister of Kiltearn determined to take a still bolder step. Why should the flock that gathered around him be for years denied the priviledge of communicating with their Lord, and with one another, in the Sacrament of the Supper?

* Stevenson's Life of Hogg.

The Strype became the scene of one of the most solemn of those open-air celebrations of the Supper, once so common, but now confined to the Gaelic speaking districts of the North. A considerable number of the devout from a wide circuit of country—some all the way from Easter Ross,—joined in the sacred ordinance. The occasion was marked by signal tokens of the Lord's presence, and "the communicants," we are told, "returned to their habitations with joy unspeakable; and the spirit of their adversaries was so bound that they gave them no disturbance."

It is possible that the Bishop of Moray had no great desire to meddle again with Thomas Hogg, but he must have felt that the deposed minister had now gone beyond what could be tolerated. He complained to the Privy Council, and urged that measures should be taken immediately to silence him, and another outed minister who persisted in preaching the Gospel, without Episcopal permission, in the very neighbourhood of the Episcopal city—Thomas Urquhart of Essil. At the same time a Ross-shire informer, John Gordon, Hogg's Episcopal successor in the parish of Kiltearn, had been complaining for months that his ministry was hindered by his people attending conventicles held by Hogg and M'Killican. Accordingly, a Commission was issued to the Earl of Moray and Lord Duffus, to apprehend these three men and imprison them in the Tolbooth of Forres. The order was carried into effect. Hogg, M'Killican, and Urquhart, were arrested and thrown into prison. This was in 1668, six years after their ejection from their parishes.

CHAPTER IV.

Hogg, M'Killican, and Urquhart, in the Tolbooth of Forres—Ministers "falling about the Work of Preaching"—Fraser of Brea—The Field-Presbytery of Moray—Thomas Ross of Kincardine—The Ladies of the Covenant—Hearing the Curates—The good Lady of Kilravock—Lilias Dunbar—"The Tolbooth of Tain in Inverness"—The Clatterin Brig—Fines and Imprisonment—Communion at Obsdale—Principles of the Covenanters—The Bass Rock—Incidents of the Imprisonment.

HOW long our three Northern Confessors lay in the Tolbooth of Forres, we do not know. It is probable that their confinement extended over several months. Their prison was not a more comfortable lodging than the jails of the period generally were, but it would appear that they were not so straitly guarded but that their friends could have access to them. Their incarceration produced a profound sensation; and persons of all classes, and from all parts of the district, came to see and converse with them. They availed themselves of the opportunity thus afforded them not only to discuss the question at issue between them and the Prelates, but also to preach Christ and Him crucified. A deeper interest in the cause with which they were identified, and a juster estimate of their personal character, was the result. Men were surprised to find that they were not the austere and gloomy fanatics that report represented them. "It was for his greater honour," writes one of Mr Hogg's friends

regarding his detention, "not only by making known what of God was in him, but by discovering him to be another thing than he was represented to be, viz., unconversible; whereas he was found to be very affable, for the edification of all that came to visit him." They were at length liberated, through the friendly intervention of the Earl of Tweeddale, who, without their knowledge, and, apparently, without solicitation from their friends, procured an order for their release. The deliverance was justly regarded as an answer to prayer. The worthy men returned home hampered by no condition, but more resolved than ever to avail themselves of every opportunity of preaching the Gospel and testifying for Christ.

There was living at this time at the Bridge-end of Inschoch a remarkable woman of humble rank, a native of Fife, who had been for some time in Rossshire, and had come across from Tain, on the invitation of the Lady of Park, to instruct her daughters in the useful art of sewing. Her name was Catherine Collace. She was married to a man of the name of Ross, who appears from sundry notices in the Brodie Diary to have led her a wretched life—the public Church question being, in all probability, the domestic bone of contention. A person of great force of character and fervent piety, she must have been quite a power among the nonconformists of Nairnshire, judging both by the estimation in which she was held by such men as Lord Brodie and Mr Hogg, and the bitter hostility manifested towards her by the Earl of Moray and other enemies of the Covenanting cause. Her veneration for Mr Hogg, whom she acknowledged as her spiritual father, was profound. In a small volume of

Memoirs which she has left behind her, she says of him, on his release from the prison of Forres:—"After this he preached in his own private house for eight years, and was the instrument of converting many; and ministers about did likewise wax bold by his example to fall about the work of preaching." One of these ministers "who fell about the work of preaching" was James Urquhart of Kinloss, whose wife, Agnes Brodie, was a near relative of the Lord of Brodie Castle. When driven forth from the Abbey Church of his parish he found shelter in the House of Penick, a mansion built by Thomas Dunbar, Dean of Moray, uncle of Lord Brodie, about a mile to the east of the village of Auldearn. All traces of the old house have now disappeared, save a few of the trees which once surrounded it. James Urquhart preached there, every Sabbath, for many years; and numerous entries in the Diaries so often referred to, testify that the Brodie Castle family, with many of their connections, worshipped with him. Several of the outed ministers from the east visit Moray, from time to time, and some from the south. We meet with the names of John Stewart, who was minister of a parish in the Presbytery of Deer before the Restoration, and of Nathaniel Martin of Peterhead. John Stewart, especially, is much in Moray during the next fourteen years. His headquarters seem to be the neighbourhood of Innes House, but we meet with him occasionally in Auldearn. John Park of Urquhart and George Meldrum of Glass appear now and again at Inschoch and Knockoudie, and Lord Brodie feels hurt when they return home without calling at the castle. From a note in Catherine Collace's Memoirs it would seem that Welsh of Irongray paid

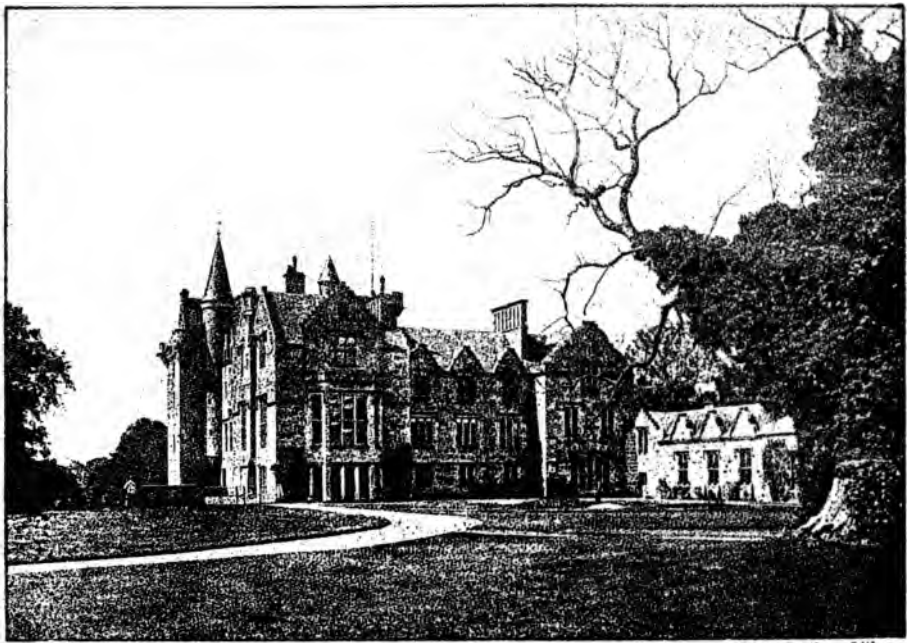


Photo.-Litho. by Cooper & Co., Inverness. Melven Brothers, Lithos.

BRODIE CASTLE.

a visit to the Province; but at what time, or how long, she does not say. Robert Gillespie, son of the celebrated George Gillespie, is hiding in Moray in 1671 and 1672, and is frequently at Brodie Castle. He pays his first visit in the company of one of the most striking characters of the time, James Fraser of Brea. A grandson of Simon, seventh Lord Lovat, and closely connected also with the noble House of Moray, this young gentleman was proprietor of the small estate of Brea, in the Black Isle. When a mere child he had the misfortune to lose his father. The family was drowned in debt. With much struggling young Fraser contrived to obtain a university education; but his circumstances continued to be so embarrassed that he could not, as he tells us, "for the space of six years, borrow £5 on either his writ or his word." Religiously brought up from his childhood, he became a new man when a youth of eighteen. "The way of salvation was savingly revealed to him; and from a discovery of the glory and loveliness of the Saviour he was drawn to embrace Him by a true and living faith." Mainly in the hope of being able to arrange the family affairs he commenced the study of law, but the bent of his mind was towards the ministry. Relinquishing his legal pursuits he betook himself to the systematic study of the Scriptures. Thoroughly convinced of the unscriptural character of Prelacy, he could not accept ordination at the hands of the bishops. Deeming the cause of the outed ministers the cause of God, he resolved to throw in his lot with them. He came forward in this season of wrong and suffering, when the bad were avowedly opposed to vital godliness, and the timid were shrinking from the profession of it, to

preach to the people. Adopting a plain and pointed style of address, he became highly popular with the common people, who crowded to hear him. There were those, however, who looked askance upon the young and energetic evangelist. Not having had the benefit of regular training in theology, it is possible that his utterances did not always square with the Calvinistic scheme of doctrine. It would appear also that he was not prepared to take the high ground of the exclusive divine right of Presbytery, then generally maintained by those who adhered to that system of Church polity. He avowed, that the difference between the Independents and the Presbyterians appeared to him so small, that it was indifferent to him to live in fellowship either with the one or the other. Certain of the more precise of his brethren challenged his right to officiate as a minister, as he had not been regularly licensed or ordained. This latter objection was soon taken out of the way. The outed ministers in this district constituted themselves into a Presbytery; and, after the usual examinations, formally ordained him for discharging all the functions of the ministry.* This took place in 1672. Robert Gillespie also received ordination from the Field-Presbytery of Moray, and, apparently, before Fraser of Brea. Under date 10th January 1672, Lord Brodie writes:—"Mr Th. Hogg told me they had manumitted Mr Robert Gillespie." And we know from an entry made the following month, that they had not then laid their hands on James Fraser. The ordination of these young men deserves to be noted as marking the first overt act in which the outed Presbyterian ministers, claiming to be the

* Stevenson's Life of Hogg, p. 108.

true representatives of the Church of Scotland, asserted its power of self-government by constituting themselves into a Court of the Church, to make provision for its continued existence. Nor is it without interest to notice, that the son of the celebrated leader of the Scottish Commission in the Westminster Assembly was the first who received nonconformist Presbyterian ordination in Scotland, and that he received it in our neighbourhood, at Inschoch or Knockoudie. He was also the first who was imprisoned on the Bass Rock for holding conventicles.

Thomas Hogg seems to have been Moderator of this *improvised* Presbytery. Catherine Collace says:—"He (Thomas Hogg) was the main instrument of licensing the first that was licensed in Scotland without compliance with Episcopacy." Who his associates were we can only conjecture. James Urquhart and Thomas Ross were probably of the number. The latter, one of the outed ministers of Ross, came across to Moray in 1669. There is some difficulty in determining the parish of which he was minister. One account represents him as minister of Tain, another of Kincardine, and in Wodrow's roll of evicted ministers he appears in the Presbytery of Dingwall. In Dr Hew Scott's *Fasti Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ*, he is represented as minister of Kincardine from 1655 to 1662, and described as "formerly of Alness." Now there was a Thomas Ross in Alness who was deposed for some offence or other in 1648, but subsequently restored to the exercise of the ministry, though not to his parish. If the deposed minister of Alness is the Thomas Ross who came across to Moray in 1669, the fact is interesting; for every notice of Thomas Ross, and I have met with several, represents him as a man

of rare piety. Inferior to Hogg and M'Killican in mental power, he was at least their peer in spiritual endowments. "Grace in a great measure, with mean natural gifts,"* is Lord Brodie's estimate. Fraser of Brea dedicated his MS. Memoirs to him as "a singularly pious minister." May not the sentence of deposition stand in a casual relation to the subsequent piety—the eminence of his spiritual character marking the depth of his repentance? Stevenson tells us in his Life of Hogg, that the minister of Kiltearn "was instrumental in the establishment in grace and in the ways of God, of that holy Mr Thomas Ross;" and Wodrow informs us, that M'Killican helped him to a decision when it became necessary to choose between collation from the bishop and eviction with a good conscience. Catherine Collace writes:—"Some time after the Lord brought him to Moray, and great was the blessing he proved to it, for the Lord made him the means of converting that eminent worthy the Lady Kilravock, who built a house for him on her own land, where the Gospel had never been in any power. There the Lord blessed his ministry, not only for the comfort of those who had grace and to the reforming of others, but to the real converting of several, some of whom were a wonder for experience in the ways of God attained to in a very short time." The Lady Kilravock of this extract was Margaret Innes, eldest daughter of Sir Robert Innes, the second baronet, and wife of Hugh Rose, the fourteenth baron of Kilravock. She was one of a galaxy of pious matrons who graced at that time the mansions of Moray. In almost every castle and gentleman's residence, the lady of the house was a de-

* Brodie Diary, p. 314.

voted friend of the outed ministers. You get the impression that much of the countenance accorded to the Presbyterian ministers by the gentlemen of these parts was due to the influence of the ladies. As we may yet see, some of them brought their husbands into not a little trouble by the decided manner in which they avowed their preference for the ministry of the nonconformists. The Lady Henrietta Stuart, daughter of the Earl of Moray, and wife of Sir Hugh Campbell of Cawdor, goes to hear sermon at Penick and Knockoudie, but more frequently at the old town of Kilravock, where Thomas Ross preaches—proceedings of which Donald Macpherson, the prelatic incumbent of Cawdor, takes special note. She has scruples about joining in family worship with her chaplain, John Wilson, because he was licensed by the bishop; so her husband brings Lord Brodie to Cawdor Castle to confer with her on the question; and Lord Brodie and Sir Hugh carry the chaplain to Lethen, to consult with Mr James Urquhart, who is making a long visit there at the time. Mr Urquhart thinks "the Lady Cawdor may join with the chaplain, so he walk soberly and forbear preaching."* Some time after the poor man disclaims the bishops and burns his Episcopal license, but applies again for its renewal. Lady Innes, wife of the second baronet, holds it unlawful to hear the curates, as the prelatic incumbents are called, and is determined not to part with her nonconforming chaplain (who may have been Thomas Urquhart, or John Stewart), except under absolute compulsion. Her daughter-in-law is thus described by James Brodie, son of Lord Brodie, in reference to her early death:—"She

* Brodie Diary, p. 389.

was amongst those singular ones who are taking a burden of the Lord's work and interest." A Ross-shire lady, designated in the Brodie Diary as "the Lady Newmore," visits at Brodie Castle; and judging by the references to her, approves herself a devoted friend of the outed ministers, and a consistent opponent of the Episcopal hierarchy. If her husband was, as I surmise, Sir George Munro of Culrain and Newmore, Glencairn's opponent on the Links of Dornoch, her fidelity to the principles of the Covenant does honour both to her steadfastness and to her discretion, for the major-general, as he was called, unlike his kinsmen of the House of Fowlis, was a steady, if not a disinterested, supporter of the Government and its policy. "The Lady Newmore," writes our Diarist, "visited us. She said she was glad to see me, and in some respects sorry that I was oft cast up to her and my Lady Rothes (the wife of another Government official) because we heard (that is, as appears from the sequel, because Lord Brodie occasionally heard the curates preach). I said, Every one has their measure: all see not alike clearly. Some are under a cloud in things that others are clear in. She said she durst not hear unless she marred her own peace, and she had peace in not hearing; and she hoped it would not be the worse with her husband for that. She had apprehension of much trouble when she resolved first against hearing, but she thanked God who had carried her through."*

This extract shows us that the venerable head of the family of Brodie, whose youthful zeal, as evinced in the destruction of the carved screen of Elgin Cathedral, had cooled down into over-cautious discretion, gave not

* Brodie Diary, p. 369.

a little offence to those who faithfully maintained the principles which he had at heart, by his inconsistent conduct in occasionally hearing, and thus partially countenancing, the Episcopal clergy. The Lady Newmore was not alone in expostulating with him. Catherine Collace aud Thomas Hogg remonstrated again and again. The latter, as we might expect, was very decided in his views on this question of practical duty. Lord Brodie tells us in one of his last entries in his Diary, 30th Jan. 1680:—"Mr Thomas scrupled to preach to them that heard the conform ministers." A recent writer, author of a little book, "Scenes in the Life of Thomas Hogg," accounts for this by supposing a determination on his part "not to build on another man's foundation, or move in another man's line of things, lest he should thereby be giving needless offence to the conforming ministers, who would naturally be jealous of his popularity were he preaching to their people." Thomas Hogg, I am persuaded, would not thank his biographer for the amiable but gratuitous apology. It proceeds on an utter misapprehension of his character and position. He was simply carrying out his principles to their logical consequences. In his eyes, the prelates and their clergy were perjured men; and any one who adverts to their Covenant subscriptions will find it difficult to prove that they were not. Abetting the monarch in his usurpation of the exclusive sovereignty of the Redeemer over His Church, they proved themselves traitors to their Lord and Master. The system with which they had now identified themselves Hogg regarded as unscriptural; and he held himself bound by the superadded obligation of his Covenant oath to struggle in all just and regular ways

for its overthrow. Besides, as the laws had enjoined attendance on the ministrations of the curates as a public test of approval of, and compliance with, the sovereign's spiritual usurpations, while they prohibited all petitions, protestations, and remonstrances as seditious, he could see no other course of conduct open to him, by which he could keep his sacred oath and protect his conscience, than refraining from hearing the Episcopal clergy and withdrawing from all communion with them. And as those professed friends of the Covenant who countenanced the Prelatists not only became, by so doing, accessory to their sin, but also helped to obliterate the distinction between the cause of righteousness and the cause of wordly expediency which had usurped its place, it might well have been a question with him whether he ought not to withhold communion from them also. All this may be pronounced very illiberal and intolerant, but it would be well to ask ourselves how otherwise he could have borne consistent testimony, in the circumstances in which he was placed, to doctrines and principles which were so dear to him, that the loss of all things, even of life itself, was but a small thing in comparison? On the other hand, all that is recorded of Thomas Hogg affords the strongest presumption that this stern opposition to what he regarded as guilty compliance with high-handed iniquity, was maintained with a wonderful freedom from personal bitterness or rancour. Fraser of Brea, with all his catholicity, shared his sentiments, as did all the other nonconformist ministers of the North, with the exception of James Urquhart, who seems to have assumed a more tolerant, if less logical, attitude towards those who waited occasionally on the

ministrations of the Prelatists. Lord Brodie writes in reference to this question:—"Mr James did not approve Mr Thomas his austerity." Most of the gentlemen of these parts who adhered to the Presbyterian interest followed Brodie's own example, though there were some notable exceptions—such as the Laird of Lethen, and the Barons of Fowlis, Sir Robert, and his son Sir John; but the ladies were most consistent. In addition to the gentlewoman already referred to, the Ladies of Park, elder and younger, the ladies of Muirtown, Burgie, Lethen, Grant, and Lady Mary Kerr—daughter of the Earl of Lothian, and wife of James Brodie, younger of Brodie—deserve honourable mention. The Lady of Kilravock appears to have been the most eminent for godliness of this pious sisterhood. Catherine Collace describes her as "promoting the Gospel; being a companion to all those that feared God; and discountenancing all ungodliness and ungodly persons." Deeply attached to him who had been the means of leading her to the Saviour, she attends closely on the ministry of Thomas Ross, but takes a warm interest in the welfare of Thomas Hogg also, who is now much broken in health. She is one of those who charge themselves with his support. While Sir Robert Munro of Fowlis lived he contrived to retain his proportion of the stipend of Kiltearn and to transmit it regularly to Mr Hogg as the rightful beneficiary—an arrangement of which John Gordon, the Episcopal incumbent, not unnaturally complained loudly to the Privy Council; but the good baron is now dead, and the outed minister is entirely dependent on the liberality of those to whom his ministry is precious.

The Lady of Kilravock did not live long. She died of fever at Geddes, near Nairn, then one of the family seats, on the 20th of September 1676, in the 36th year of her age. Her death was lamented as a public loss. Her uncle, Lord Brodie, writes:—"This is a stroke which I desire to understand. Is it not matter of mourning and humiliation when the righteous are taken away—when the chief among us for affection and zeal are plucked away? How great a loss to the poor distressed folk in these places—ministers and others—their true Dorcas;—and more—a mother in Israel,—their refuge; Who shall take care of them now? Lord, raise up others! Hast Thou not the residue of the Spirit? They are now wholly cast on Thee, no less than her children and family. What will there be in that family where she was placed, and Thou wast served? The hearts of (some one indicated in shorthand to which there is no key, probably Bishop Mackenzie), and naughty men are made glad. Lord, turn their joy to disappointment. They that fear Thee are smitten, and their hearts made sad." No one can mistake the genuine ring of these homely but pathetic sentences. Cautious Master Hew Rose, minister of Nairn, is more formal, but his reference to the good lady deserves to be quoted for its characteristic quaintness. "Of Margaret Innes, Lady Kilravock, I can say, that she was a person not only of a good and great spirit, but also religious, and of great action, as is yet well known."*

* Mr Hew's "great action" may be explained by the following sentence from Lauchlan Shaw:—"Amidst the severities on account of religion in her day, and practised against those of her sentiments and persuasion she behaved with great prudence, maintained her principles with unshaken firmness, protected and relieved the distressed as she had opportunity, and yet disturbed not the public peace, nor gave umbrage to the Civil Government."—*Kilravock Papers.*

Photo.-Litho. by Cooper & Co., Inverness. Melven Brothers, Lithos.

KILRAVOCK CASTLE.

In editing the Kilravock Papers the late lamented Cosmo Innes says:—"There is in our collection a mass of correspondence of a remarkable nature. Some of the letters are addressed to 'My Lady Muirtown,' some 'To the much honoured and very much respected lady —the Lady Park—these.' Others are without address, probably written to the Lady Kilravock. Most are without the name of the writer, subscribed sometimes 'Ye know the hand,' 'Yours to power,' 'Read and burn,' with a cipher 'L.D. (which seems to stand for Lilias Dunbar) your real and constant sympathiser in all your sufferings for Christ.' Some subscribe their initials, others boldly affix their name, 'J. Fraser,' 'J. Nimmo,' 'Thomas Ross.'" The learned editor, having regard to the religious character of these documents, which he describes as instinct with a "high and burning piety," judged it prudent not to engross them in the volume of Papers published by the Spalding Club, and perhaps he was right; but for my own part I should dearly like to have an opportunity of perusing these letters. The Lilias Dunbar to whom he refers is better known to us than most of her contemporaries in the North, except Lord Brodie—thanks to the pious care of her descendants in preserving the diary in which she recorded her religious experience. Judging from the extracts which I have seen, this record contrasts very favourably with the homely jottings of the Senator, and may even bear comparison in point of style, with some of the best writing of the present day, although it was written in these Bœotian regions, amidst the troubles of a time of persecution, and intended for no eye but that of the writer. It is evidently the pro-

duction of a lady of cultivated mind, whose piety is as enlightened as it is fervent.*

Early left an orphan, this lady was thrown in childhood on the protection of her cousins, Sir Hugh Campbell of Cawdor and Lady Duffus. It was while mourning the loss of the latter, to whom she was deeply attached, that she was led to the Saviour—the truth which she had been in the habit of hearing from the outed ministers, and especially from Hogg and Ross, having then taken effect in her heart, as the seed of life. In reference to the death of her beloved friend, she writes:—"For brass I have gotten gold; for a fading flower the noble Plant of renown; who is the brightness of the Father's glory, the express image of His person; Him from whom death shall not be able to separate me, for He shall be with me when I go through the dark valley, so that I shall fear no evil." Rejoicing in the Saviour, her impulse was to go and tell the tender hearted, graciously wise Thomas Ross, of her great gain. But that was not so easy now as it once was. The good man was no longer at Kilravock. The storm of persecution had burst over his head and driven him from his retreat. During the summer of 1675 the outed ministers of the North were much employed in preaching, with no small evidence of the power of the Holy Spirit accompanying their labours.

* It was published in a religious periodical in America some years ago. The original MS., in Lilias Dunbar's own hand, and a copy with prefatory biographical notice by her grandson, the Rev. James Calder of Croy, an eminent minister of the last century, are in the possession of Alexander Brodie Mackintosh, Esq. of Ardenlee, Dunoon, brother of the late Dr Mackintosh of Tain and Dunoon, a great-grandson of Mr James Calder. Through a sister of Mr James Calder, Alexander Falconer, Esq., the venerable Sheriff-Substitute of Nairnshire, is also a descendant of Lilias Dunbar. (1875) Both these gentlemen are now deceased. (1891)

Information of this having been sent to the Privy Council, the Earl of Moray, a bitter opponent of the nonconformists, is enjoined to put the laws against conventicles in force in the Province of Moray. These were now peculiarly severe. An Act, passed in 1760, visited the holding of house conventicles with heavy penalties by fine and imprisonment, and made it a capital crime to preach at field conventicles. Four persons present with the household when the head of the family engaged in worship constituted a house conventicle, and a house conventicle became a field conventicle if any persons stood about the door. The Earl promply obtempered his instructions. Thomas Ross was apprehended and thrown into the Tolbooth of Nairn. Quarters in the prison of the good town were not then as comfortable as they now are.* The worthy man was constrained to present a petition to the Privy Council, representing "that the tolbooth of the burgh of Nairn was very insufficient, and not able, from want of roof and repairing, to shelter him from the rains and storm; that he being a sickly and tender person was in hazard of his life, except the Council were favourably pleased to give order for his liberty, and therefore humbly supplicating that order and warrant might be granted to that effect." The Privy Council did so far grant the petition as to recommend the Earl of Moray to change his place of imprisonment from the tolbooth of Nairn to the tolbooth of Tain in Inverness. My Lords fell into the common error of regarding the whole Northern Highlands as located in Inverness; but their order was obeyed, notwithstanding its weakness in geography. For two years Ross languished in the

* The prison of Nairn has since been closed. (1891.)

prison of Tain. He was then set at liberty, but died not long after—in January 1679—of a painful disease in the throat. He departed in the faith that the Lord would visit His Church, and in the full assurance of the hope of the Gospel for himself. "I am persuaded," he said on his death-bed, "and my soul has been triumphing in it these three years by-past, in seeing that the delivery of the people and Church of God is coming." "I assure you," he said to two relatives who visited him on his last day on earth, "there is neither rock nor mountain between me and Christ. Let the devil and the world do what they will, I have overcome; I have overcome through Christ my Lord." We meet with his widow more than once at Brodie Castle. She is a relative of the family—James Brodie calls her his grand-uncle's daughter. She asks shelter at Fedden, a farm in the neighbourhood of the castle, which the Laird is willing to grant her, but the house is ruinous; and we see his wife, Lady Mary, setting off to Lethen, "to speak anent Mr Thomas Ross' widow, and some accommodation to her." With what success we know not.

Lilias Dunbar, accompanied by Jane Taylor, a young woman of like mind with herself, who afterwards became her faithful servant and attached friend, made her way from Moyness, the residence of her cousin, Donald Campbell, brother of the Laird of Cawdor, across the ferries, to visit Mr Thomas Ross while he lay in the prison of Tain. "When I told him," she says in her diary, "how my will was broken, and faith wrought and Christ Jesus manifested to me, he wept for joy." About a year after this she was married to Mr Alexander Campbell of Torrich, near Nairn, a young gentle-

man, descended like herself from the family of Cawdor, and a warm friend of the cause of evangelical religion. They were united in marriage by Mr John Stewart from Deer, with whom we have already met as one of the outed ministers who found shelter in Moray. Nothing gave greater offence to the Prelates and their partisans than to seek such privileges from the Presbyterian ministers. Accordingly, they procured the enactment of stringent laws against *irregular* baptisms and marriages as they called them; and in this case the parties had to answer for their defiance of the law.

Meanwhile, the rising storm of persecution overtakes Hogg and M'Killican. In common with many others in all parts of the country, they are charged at the market-crosses of the principal towns in the kingdom, to appear before the Privy Council and answer to the complaint against them for keeping conventicles. Failing to appear, they are denounced as rebels. In August 1675 Letters of Intercommuning are issued against them—a species of civil excommunication, which placed them beyond the pale of human sympathy, by denouncing the penalties to which they were exposed against all who should supply them with food or shelter, or hold any intercourse with them. The infamous inhibition proves an empty fulmination. Hogg preaches as often as a severe illness and the attentions of a party of military, who are out in quest of him, will permit. On more than one occasion he narrowly escapes capture.

Near the house of Knockoudie, the old country road crossed a small stream by a rude bridge or culvert, formed of three stone slabs laid side by side. Not being well bedded, the flags moved with harsh sound

as horse or cart passed over them, procuring for the structure the name of "The Clatterin Brig." One day the soldiers are seen approaching the house. The outlawed minister is in imminent danger of falling into their hands, when a friend hastily suggests "the Clatterin Brig" in the hollow, and helps him to creep beneath it just in time to escape the observation of his persecutors. Baffled in their search the military retire after a while, and as they pass over "the Clatterin Brig," the fugitive, crouching underneath, hears them declare with horrid oaths that they will find him if he is on this side of hell." Descendants of the man who helped him to his place of concealment are living in respectable circumstances in the neighbourhood of Inverness, and the memory of the service which their ancestor rendered to this eminent man of God is cherished among them as a family distinction. It was either at this time, or at an earlier date, when Bishop Mackenzie, exasperated by the ordination of Gillespie and Brea, sent one Meldrum to apprehend Mr Hogg, that the incident referred to in the following extract from Catherine Collace's Memoirs occurred:—"There was a party within a mile came to take away Mr Thomas Hogg, whom the Lord had signally sent to me; whereupon I went to the Lord, and begged of Him that He would continue His servant with me and keep him out of his enemies' hands. They were made to go their way without coming near the place where he was, though he had waited for them all that day, for he would not flee." One is inclined to suspect the good lady had not only prayed but used her ready woman's wit "to make them go their way." Be this as it may, Thomas Hogg, though greatly harassed by his persecutors, did

not fall into their hands till he voluntarily surrendered himself about the beginning of the year 1677. During the previous year there was great distress in this Province, in consequence of the Earl of Moray's severities against conventicles. Fines had been the order of the day from the very beginning of Charles's reign. Many of the Covenanting gentlemen had been subjected, again and again, to this process of exaction. It was speedily extended to the common people, and became the standing punishment for the crime of "refusing to keep the kirk." In 1671 Lord Brodie writes:—"I heard of the poor men that were fined at Inverness for not hearing the present ministers." Now, however, imprisonment is added. A Commission of the Privy Council, with the Earl of Moray at its head, sits at Elgin on the 12th December 1676, and commits to the tolbooth of the Episcopal city a considerable number of persons who had been found guilty of hearing the outed ministers. Lord Brodie sends to Elgin to inquire for the prisoners, and subsequently shows his sympathy by visiting them in person. The good old man is in great anxiety, not so much for himself, (though he has reason to be apprehensive for his own safety,) as for his relatives Pitgavnie, Milton, and Main, who have not been so cautious as he: and for his friends, Catherine Collace, of whom the Earl "speaks much ill," and James Urquhart, and Thomas Hogg, who decline the Commission as Judges. He rides to Lethen to consult his cousin there as to what they should do in defence of the ministers. He calls at Darnaway, and ventures to plead with the Earl to show more leniency, but with no great success. Catherine Collace must forthwith leave the North. Accordingly

she returns to Falkland, where she lives unmolested, teaching sewing, and dealing personally with her pupils about their souls' salvation, till 1692, when she enters into the joy of her Lord. We are told that a "great many were converted at her school."* Mr James Urquhart will not be molested "so he live peaceably and within his house." To this the minister of Kinloss appears to have agreed. But when Brodie advises the minister of Kiltearn to withdraw for a time to Ross or Sutherland, he finds him resolved neither "to flee nor lurk." A consideration which, doubtless, weighed with Mr Hogg in coming to this decison was the fact, that the Laird of Lethen was security in a heavy sum for his appearance when called for; and its weight would be none the less that Lethen generously sent him a message by his cousin, "that whatever course he (Mr Hogg) took for his safety and his peace, outward and inward, it should satisfy him, and he needed not lay stress on his relief from the band of cautionry." Accordingly he surrenders himself to the Earl of Moray. There is great consternation among our Nairnshire gentlemen. We see Lethen, Kinsteary, Kilravock, and others, meeting with Brodie, to devise means for Mr Hogg's liberation, and offering to pay almost any amount of "faili" or forfeit: but the Earl is inexorable Hogg is transported to Edinburgh; and as he refuses to come under an obligation not to preach, he is sent to the Bass. He is not the only minister who is transported from Nairnshire to Edinburgh that spring, and sent to the Bass. The Thane of Cawdor journeys southward with John M'Killican as his prisoner. The minister of Fodderty has been indefatigable and almost defiant

* Memoirs of Catherine Collace.

in his labours. On a visit to Moray, he preached in Elgin under the very nose of the Bishop. Not more than a month after being intercommuned, he dispensed the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in the house of the Dowager Lady of Fowlis at Obsdale, now Dalmore, near Alness. These celebrations, involving as they did an assertion of spiritual authority independent of the bishops, were peculiarly obnoxious to the Prelatists, and could be but rarely observed by the outed ministers and their friends. All the more were they prized, and we may add, all the more were they blessed. The Communion at Obsdale appears to have been an occasion of great spiritual refreshment. "At the last sermon," says Wodrow, "there was a plentiful effusion of the Spirit upon a great many present, and the oldest Christians there declared they had never been witnesses to the like." "The people," adds the same historian, "seemed to be in a transport, their souls filled with heaven, and breathing thither, while their bodies were upon the earth." We are told of one poor man who came out of mere curiosity, and returned home so full of the new-born joy of salvation, that when a neighbour, learning where he had been, said to him, "he was a great fool to lose all he had—his cow and his horse,—for they would certainly be taken from him;" he replied, "You are more to be pitied who was not so happy as to be there; for my part, if the Lord would maintain in me what I hope I have won to, I would not only part with these but my head also if called to do it."* The celebration was not conducted to a close without interruption. Bishop Paterson must have got an inkling of the intention to hold it; for, at his in-

* Wodrow's History.

stigation, Sir Roderick Mackenzie of Findon, Sheriff of the county, sent a party of soldiers to apprehend Mr M'Killican. Naturally concluding that the service would be held in the minister's house—the usual place of meeting—the soldiers marched to Alness. Of course the minister was not there, but his orchard was. The soldiers could not resist the attraction of the ripening apples with which the trees were laden. Before the officer in command could draw them off, and surround the house of Obsdale, the communicants had time to dispose of themselves and conceal the ministers. M'Killican, according to a traditionary anecdote, found rather a peculiar hiding-place. Sir John Munro of Fowlis, a man whose military experience—acquired in "the low countries"—Falstaffian proportions and attachment to the Presbyterian cause, had procured for him the *bye-name* of the Presbyterian Mortar-piece, was, on this occasion, with his mother at Obsdale. When the officer in command of the military burst into his apartment in search of M'Killican, Sir John pleaded indisposition, and begged him to excuse his inability to rise from his chair. The soldier retired without taking the liberty of deranging the ample folds of the military cloak in which the Baronet was enveloped, and consequently without discovering that the object of his search was concealed beneath the chair.

The intercommuned minister did not long escape. He was apprehended by some of Seaforth's servants in the house of Mr Hugh Anderson of Cromarty, who had been one of his assistants at the Obsdale Communion, and thrown into the Tolbooth of Fortrose. The Speech in which he defended himself before the Provost of Fortrose, whom he addressed as "My Lord,"

has been preserved. It is a very spirited production. Take a couple of sentences as a specimen:—"So far as I can search into myself, I can find no evil in my heart, nor iniquity in my hand, against his Majesty's person and authority, whose I am, and to whom I submit in the Lord. In testimony whereof, I have given, in so far as could consist with my duty to the Lord, and the light and peace of my own conscience, a submission unto, and observation of, his laws. But, for abjured Prelacy, and perjured prelates, that stem, and those twigs, which the Father's right hand hath never planted nor watered, being a seed which the Evil One hath sown while the servants were asleep . . . . I look on myself as obliged before the Lord to refuse, oppose, and be a testimony against it."* Then he goes on to state that he reckoned himself bound to do this not only by what he calls "the *subjective* obligation of his ordination vows," but also by "the moral *objective* obligation of the Word of God," which knows lordly bishops only to condemn them in the person of Diotrephes, who affected pre-eminence, and as the incipient embodiment of the spirit of Antichrist. Contrast these principles with those avowed by Sir George Mackenzie, who says:—"In this (the form of Church government), as in all articles not absolutely necessary for being saved, I make the laws of my country my creed." I need not ask which are the worthier of free-born men—which the better fitted to promote the progress of the race and to ennoble the soul. "The laws of my country are my creed"—I take no account of the qualifying phrase, for it is a qualification only in words,—is an admirable principle

* Anderson's Bass Rock.

from the point of view of the despot and his myrmidons; and we can readily understand how a man holding it could coolly declare, while the shrieks of a nation tortured for a quarter of a century, because it would not accept the king's ruling in spiritual matters, were piercing his ears, "that no man in Scotland ever suffered for his religion." Of course not; the Covenanters suffered for their disobedience to a law which required them "to make the laws of their country their creed." In that short sentence Sir George goes to the root of the matter, and gives, in a single word, the essential reason and radical principle of that irrepressible controversy regarding spiritual independenee, to which the history of the Church of Scotland owes so much of its form and colour. The Covenanters could not "make the laws of their country their creed," for they held that the whole domain of "the creed" must be kept sacred for the immediate and exclusive rule of the Lord of the conscience. Against that principle of the Lord Advocate and the men whom he represented, they put this other, "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's." This principle of theirs, formulated as spiritual freedom co-ordinate with civil obedience—and let it be observed that neither Hogg nor M'Killican, nor any of our northern Covenanters, disowned nor resisted the king's civil supremacy,—has been persecuted, discredited, misunderstood; but by the law of "survival of the fittest," by its own intrinsic truth and vitality, it has survived until now, and it will ultimately triumph.

The Privy Council ordered M'Killican to be passed on from Sheriff to Sheriff till landed in the Tolbooth

of Edinburgh; but Sir Hugh Campbell of Cawdor, who was at that time Sheriff of Nairnshire, instead of handing him over to the Earl of Moray, kept and entertained him as his chaplain; and, according to the complaint of the Privy Council, "permitted him to keep conventicles, and commit several other disorders, to the disturbance of the peace of that country." The disturbances complained of were confined, we may be sure, to baptizing a child, or uniting a couple in marriage. The Thane of Cawdor must have been a brave man to have dealt thus with an intercommuned prisoner, committed to him in his official capacity as Sheriff. The Privy Council, in great wrath, ordered letters to be directed to messengers-at-arms, to charge the Laird of Cawdor "to enter the person of Mr John M'Killican in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, and to bring him there, on his own expenses, against the 1st of April." This was the first of March 1677. The minister of Fodderty lay in the prison of Edinburgh till October, when he was sent to the Bass to join his intimate friends, Thomas Hogg and James Fraser of Brea. Time will not permit me to describe the sufferings of our northern worthies as they pined for two whole years in the cold damp cells of their sea-girt prison, subjected to contumelious and cruel treatment on the part of their jailors. For a full account let me refer you to an accessible and trustworthy record, Anderson's "Martyrs of the Bass." Allow me, however, to notice one or two incidents of their imprisonment. Under the close confinement to which he was subjected, Thomas Hogg contracted a dangerous disease. The physician who was called from Edinburgh to visit him advised him to petition the Privy Council for temporary liberty as essential to

his recovery. With that unbending uprightness and thorough-going consistency which were so characteristic of the man, the suffering martyr refused to do, or say, anything which could be construed into an acknowledgment of the ecclesiastical authority of Sharp and his colleagues. The compassionate doctor then drew up of his own accord, and without the knowledge of his patient, an urgent petition, beseeching the Council to relax his confinement, or that death would be the inevitable result.

Some of the lay Lords were disposed to grant the prayer, and pleaded in Hogg's behalf, that when at liberty he had lived more peaceably than other Presbyterian ministers, not perambulating the country as they were in the habit of doing; but Archbishop Sharp, with fiendish malignity, urged that the prisoner—I quote from Andrew Stevenson—"did, and was in a capacity to do, more hurt to their interests, sitting in his elbow-chair, than twenty others could do by travelling from this land to the other; and if the justice of God was pursuing him to take him off the stage, the clemency of the Government should not interpose to hinder it: and therefore it was his opinion that if there were any place in the prison worse than another, he should be put there. This motion being seconded by another prelate and put to the vote, it was carried that Hogg should be shut up in the closest prison of the Bass. When the Act of Council was communicated to him, the good man raised himself up with some difficulty in his bed to read it. On learning its import he exclaimed, "It is as severe as if Satan himself had penned it"—feeling that it was equivalent to signing his death-warrant. He was carried down to a low

filthy dungeon; and faithful William Balloch, who was permitted to accompany him, could not refrain from saying, as the tears rolled down his rugged cheeks, "Now, master, your death is unavoidable." "Nay," answered the persecuted saint, turning to his servant with a countenance full of joy; "now that men have no mercy, the Lord will show Himself merciful: from the moment of my entering this dungeon I date my recovery." So it happened. To the wonder of all, he was soon restored to health. I make no remark on the apparently prophetic character of this and several other utterances of Thomas Hogg's, farther than to say—on the one hand, it is not necessary to call their authenticity in question, or to attempt to explain them away; and, on the other, it is not necessary to account for them by supposing any extraordinary spiritual gift, beyond a high measure of that practical spiritual discernment which the Spirit of Grace imparts to those who live near to God, in the exercise of prayer and heart-communion and devout study of the truth. Hogg never afterwards showed any resentment towards Sharp for his inhuman cruelty, but when speaking of him used to say merrily, "Commend him to me for a good physician." M'Killican's confinement was for a time almost as rigorous, but he enjoyed great serenity of mind. He has left it on record, that "when the nether springs were embittered, the upper springs flowed sweetly and copiously." "Since I was a prisoner," he further added, "I dwelt at ease, and lived securely." Liberty to walk occasionally on the rock—a great concession—was at length granted him through the influence of Sir George Mackenzie of Tarbet, one

of the Lords of Session.* Since we saw him ordained by the Field-Presbytery of Moray, Fraser of Brea exercised a truly apostolic ministry, preaching the Gospel in every part of the country, to the great exasperation of Archbishop Sharp, who declared, "There is scarce a conventicle that I hear of but it is Mr Fraser who is the preacher. The graphic account which he has given of the scene at his examination by the Council, when they lectured him on his want of good manners because he studiously refrained from addressing Sharp as "my Lord," is exceedingly interesting, but we must pass it by. He employed his enforced leisure in the Bass in extending his acquaintance with Greek and Hebrew, and in writing a treatise on "Justifying Faith," in which he appears to have broached the doctrine—for I have not seen the treatise—"that Christ did, by His one infinite, indivisible satisfaction and ransom, satisfy Divine justice for the sins of all mankind, though with different intention and ends according to the different objects thereof—with intention to save the elect,—but not to save the rest—intending that they should be fit objects to show his Gospel vengeance and wrath upon them." At the time, the treatise caused not a little heat. At a subsequent date it produced a division in the Reformed Presbyterian body; and it ought, I suppose, to be held as the historical progenitor of the doctrine of the Double Reference of the Atonement understood to be held by a majority of the ministers of the United Presbyterian Church, as well as by others. After the Revolution Fraser was appointed minister of Culross, on the Frith of Forth. His successor in that charge was George Mair. Mr George Mair gave Mr

* Ancestor of the late Duchess of Sutherland.

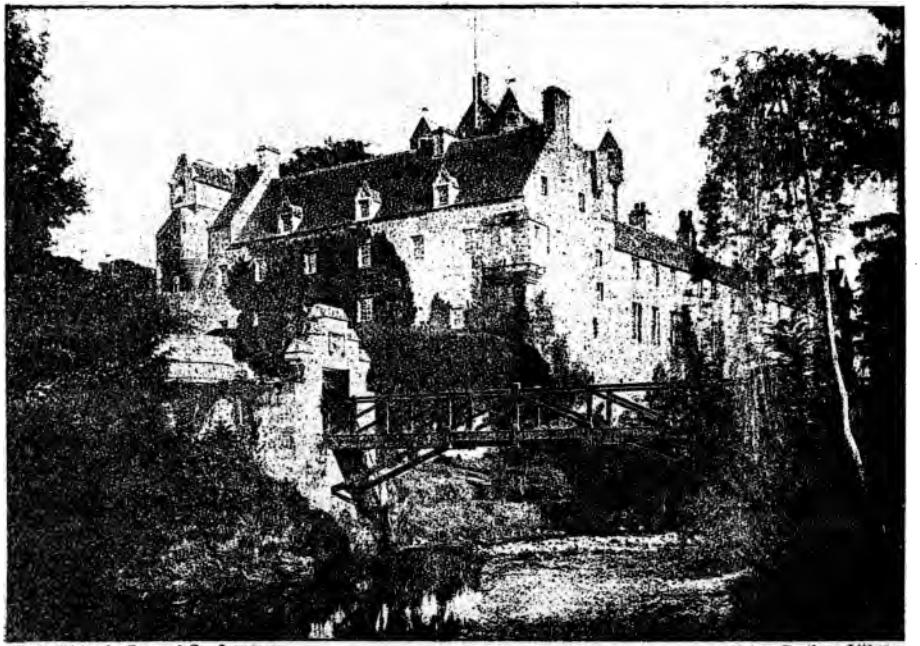
Fraser's MS. on Justifying Faith to his nephew, Thomas Mair, then a boy at school, to transcribe it. The school boy, Thomas Mair, became minister at Orwell, in connection with the Anti-Burgher Synod, and was deposed by that body for declining to abstain from teaching the views advocated in Fraser's treatise. The minister was cast out but his tenets prevailed.*

* Anderson's Bass Rock, Note, p. 145.

CHAPTER V.

The Thane of Cawdor—Northern Ministers again Imprisoned—Death of Lord Brodie—Thomas Hogg in Holland—Nonconformist Preachers in Moray—Commission of Privy Council sitting in Elgin—The Fiery Cross—Satisfaction of the Clergy—Imprisonment substituted for Banishment—Power of Conscience among the Episcopal Clergy.

AFTER the Battle of Bothwell Bridge the Government took a slight fit of clemency, the influence of which extended to the martyrs of the Bass. Our northern friends, Hogg, M'Killican, and Fraser, were set at liberty, Sir Hugh Campbell of Cawdor becoming surety for all three that they would appear before the Council when called for. He pledged himself on their behalf to the amount of £1700 sterling—a large sum for those days. The worthy Thane was a good friend to the oppressed Covenanters. While the West and the South were in the agonies of the wild "killing time," the Presbyterians of Nairnshire enjoyed comparative peace and immunity from extreme suffering. For this they were indebted, in a large measure, to the sympathy of the Laird of Cawdor, and the admirable moderation and tact with which he exercised his power as Sheriff. The course which he followed was not the best fitted to advance his interest with the Government. Among the Cawdor Papers we find a sharp letter from Lord Chancellor Rothes, dated 6th March 1677, in which



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CAWDOR CASTLE.

he charges Sir Hugh with want of diligence in executing the laws against Conventicles, and exacting the fines imposed by Act of Parliament on those who frequented these meetings, notwithstanding that he was allowed, "for his encouragement," as the letter has it, the fines of all persons under the rank of heritors. Peremptorily commanding him to put the statutes against nonconformity in force, to exact the fines, and to account for them to the Privy Council the missive certifies him that the Council shall proceed against him with all severity, if discovery shall be made of any conventicles within his bounds against which he had not proceeded "conform to law."* What effect this threat had upon the Sheriff we may learn from the following extract from his book in reference to the Lord's Prayer. Indignantly repelling an insinuation of the United Presbytery of Inverness and Forres, that his pertinacity in advocating the public use of the Lord's Prayer proved him to be no true friend of the Church, he says:—"I bless God, since ever I came to the age of a man, I made it my business to do every honest minister of the Gospel all the good offices and service that was in my power, as I could find occasion. And God honoured me so much, that I relieved many honest ministers out of prison, kept more from trouble, and to be an instrument to save the lives of severals who were pious, eminently pious and knowing, beyond many of their brethren, such as Mr William Guthrie, Mr William Veitch, and several others; and I can say I spared neither my pains, nor what credit I had with any who governed the State, nor my fortune and purse. I ventured these, and my office and life too, to save

* Cawdor Papers, p. 333.

honest people who walked according to their light, without flying to extremities, and taking arms against the King and Government; so that all the time from 1662 to the late Revolution there was not one man paid a fine in the shire of Nairn except two or three—the most considerable by his own imprudence,—and the rest the Deput said he made use of to gratify the officers and others who helped to save their neighbours. This I am forced to tell you, because most of you know nothing of it but hearsay."* How the worthy Thane contrived to serve his friends while he discharged the duties of his office, may be gathered from another Paper in the Cawdor Collection. The Laird of Lethen is summoned to appear before the Sheriff in the tolbooth of Nairn, to answer certain interrogations anent conventicle-keeping. He pleads indisposition, and the Sheriff and his deputy, Captain Kenneth Mackenzie, impelled of course by no other motive than official fidelity, ride to Lethen, and examine him in his own house. The deposition is thrown into a form as favourable to the Laird of Lethen as the facts of the case would permit; deponent denying that he had ever attended field conventicles, and accounting for his absence from the parish church, and the holding of religious meetings in his house, on the ground that he and his wife, "being constantly sick and valetudinary," were unable to go abroad, and, consequently, were glad to receive the visits of some of the outed ministers who called upon them "out of compassion," and exercised with them at family worship.† Cawdor's position we can well understand, must often have been a trying

* Collection of Letters, etc., p. 127. Edinburgh, 1709.
† Cawdor Papers, p. 368.

one. To be able to protect the cause he had at heart, he found it necessary to carry himself with great caution towards his administrative superiors, and to act at times with a degree of stringency towards his friends that must have been trying to himself. It is thus, I apprehend, that his conduct in connection with Fraser of Brea's second imprisonment is to be accounted for.

On being released from the Bass in 1679, this devoted servant of the Lord exercised his ministry in preaching as he had oppurtunity, confining himself to meetings in private dwellings, as there seemed for a time to be a disposition on the part of the government to tolerate these if field conventicles were discontinued. Happening, however, to preach on one occassion in a barn, he and his surety were cited before the Council. The citation was allowed to sleep for some time, till Sir Hugh, finding Mr Fraser lying ill in the house of his brother Donald Campbell at Moyness, prostrated by a severe attack of fever and ague, sent word to the Council of his condition, in the hope that his illness would induce them to withdraw their summons. "From this" says Fraser "I earnestly dissuaded him, for, I said, if the Prelates hear I am sick, they will certainly cause cite me in hopes that either I cannot appear, being sick, and so fall in the forfeiture of my bond of five hundred and sixty pounds, which they would gladly be in hands with; or if I would appear, I would likely endanger my life."* The result proved the Minister a better judge of character than the Sheriff. Both were peremptorily enjoined to put in an immediate appearance, although it was then the dead of winter. To the evident surprise of the Council, Fraser appeared on the

* Fraser's Memoirs. Aberdeen, 1843. P. 299.

day appointed, and defended himself with so much spirit and ability, that many of the lay lords were inclined to acquit him of the crime of sedition with which he was charged; but the bishops, to whom the matter was ultimately left, and who never seem to have been troubled with scruples of conscience about condemning a zealous nonconformist, however completely he may have defended himself, gave it as their verdict that he ought to be punished.* Accordingly, the Council fined him in 5000 merks, and ordered him to be committed to Blackness Castle, there to remain till he paid his fine and found security that he would not preach at conventicles, or that he would leave the kingdom. After six weeks imprisonment in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, he was removed to Blackness Castle, where, for seven weeks more, he was rigorously confined, and subjected to much cruel and capricious treatment. Interest being made in his behalf he was set at liberty, and his fine remitted, on condition that he should immediately leave the country, and not return without the permission of the King or Council. He retired to England. This was in 1682.

A little later, John M'Killican, who had also resumed his work of preaching, was again cited before the Council, but not allowed to plead his cause, the Prelates, since Fraser of Brea's compearance, being filled with a salutary dread of Presbyterian eloquence at the bar as well as in the pulpit. After six months imprisonment in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, he was committed again to the Bass, this time to lie in close confinement, subjected to many vexatious restrictions, for the long space of three years. A painful disorder,

* Martyrs of the Bass.

induced by his hardships and privations, caused him great and constant suffering, yet he enjoyed now, as on the occasion of his former imprisonment, great happiness in communion with the Lord. His Diary abounds with such entries as these:—"This hath been a day of gladness of heart to me. The Lord was pleased to let out abundantly of His Holy Spirit, convincing of sin, confirming me in the assurance of pardon, comforting me in the hopes of mercy, and deliverance to myself and family, and to His oppressed people and interest." "The felt joy and sense of the former day hath continued since with me; my soul dwelt at ease without any burden or weight. This day was a brother and friend to the former, wherein the Lord did communicate Himself, by enlarging my heart, melting my spirit, and breaking in upon me with a full gale. This top of the rock was to me a Peniel, where the Lord's face, in some measure was seen."* Not only was Mr M'Killican allowed nothing for his support during his lengthened confinement, but summons of adjudication was raised against his small property in Alness for the payment of a fine of 5000 merks which had been imposed upon him. As the exaction of this fine would be beggary to his family of eight children, already reduced to great straits by his imprisonment, his poor wife was obliged to travel south in the month of November and petition the Privy Council to remit the fine. Through the influence of Sir George Mackenzie of Tarbet—afterwards Earl of Cromarty,—the petition was granted. To this Officer of State,† who had a high regard for his character, John M'Killican was indebted for his liberty. His malady having come to a crisis, he petitioned the

* Appendix, Note H. † Clerk Register at the time.

Council for leave to remove to a chamber in Edinburgh, in order to have the benefit of medical treatment. This suit, Bishop "Band Strings" Paterson, son of the Bishop of Ross, did all he could to oppose; but Sir George had sufficient power to obtain for his persecuted friend, not only this favour but the greater boon of permission to return to his home, under bond, of course, to appear again when called. This was in July 1686.

Thomas Hogg returned to Auldearn on his release from the Bass in 1679; but he appears to have been in very infirm health. There would seem to have been some difficulty also about his accommodation; Knockoudie, in consequence apparently of the embarrassed circumstances of the Laird of Park, being no longer at his disposal. We meet with him at Lethen, Brightmony, Muirtown, Penick, and other places in the neighbourhood.* He was a good deal with Lord Brodie in his last painful illness; and the dying man, with heavy trembling hand, enters such jottings as these in his diary:—"I was helped by Mr Thomas. The Lord requite him." "Mr T. Hogg did contribute for my comfort." "Mr Thomas Hogg staid with me and was comfortable to me." For years it had been Alexander Brodie of Brodie's fear that he might pass away in one of his paroxysms of pain without a clear manifestation of trust in his Redeemer, such as was befitting the life of a true, sincere, and devoted Christian. Several entries in his diary, in which he notices the demise of eminent Christians of his acquaintance, to whom the power of speech or the use of reason had been denied on their dying bed, testify to his anxiety on this point. One of these I may quote, as it informs us that a Moray

* Brodie Diary.

"Worthy" with whom we have made acquaintance, Thomas Urquhart of Essil, Hogg and M'Killican's fellow-prisoner in Forres, passed away some time previous to the date which it bears, 15th June 1676. "I visited Mr James Urquhart, whom I found dangerously ill. I desired to sympathise with him, and to be rightly affected with it. Mr Th. Hogg was there. He spoke to the causes why good men are taken away, and oft silent at their end. He gave this as one, that men may improve them whilst they are among them, and whilst they have the profit of their company and gifts. Lord suffer me not to pass this lightly. Mr Hutcheson,* Mr Gilbert Hall,† Mr Thomas Urquhart, Mr Nathaniel Martin,‡ Lady Park, Lady Kilravock and several others, have not had the use of their speech nor reason at their death." But in his own case it was otherwise mercifully ordained, and that which he so much dreaded did not happen to him. He did not depart with a song of triumph on his lips, but his dying utterances proved that he was humbly, but trustfully, clinging to Him who had been the stay and the hope of his life, from the day when, forty years before, He revealed Himself to him in his deep grief, as he mourned, a widower of three-and-twenty, the loss of a wife whom he passionately loved. His death took place on the 17th of April 1680.

Thomas Hogg did not confine himself to private ministrations of comfort such as he rendered Lord Brodie. He preached, wherever he was residing, to as many as came to hear him. Information of this having reached the Privy Council, letters accusing him of hav-

* Minister of Edinburgh. † Minister of Kirkliston.
‡ Minister of Peterhead, and noticed above as having found an asylum in Moray.

ing "returned to his former seditious and disorderly practices," were issued against him at the instance of the Lord Advocate, Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh. At the same time, Sir Hugh Campbell, his surety, was charged "to bring with him, exhibit and produce before the Lords of Council, the person of Thomas Hogg, to answer as aforesaid," under a penalty of 10,000 merks. Accordingly, in December of 1683, and in the nominal custody of his friend, the Sheriff of Nairnshire, Mr Hogg set out for Edinburgh—a formidable winter journey in those days of travelling on horseback for a man with a shattered constitution, as the persecuted minister of Kiltearn now was; but the Privy Council seem to have had a decided preference for the cold months of winter when summoning the Covenanters of the North to their bar. After a short imprisonment in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, he was permitted, on his petitioning to that effect, to leave the kingdom. A month's liberty would have been allowed him to prepare for his exile, if he would bind himself not to preach in the interval; but, with that thorough conscientiousness which we have had occasion more than once to remark, he told the Council that though he was under such frailty of body, that it was exceedingly unlikely he would be able to preach, yet as he had received his commission from God and was accountable to Him, he would not bind himself one hour if the Lord called him and gave him strength. He was then enjoined to depart within forty-eight hours. He retired to Berwick-upon-Tweed—a town which, according to a political fiction, is neither in England nor in Scotland. There, Mrs Hogg and he lived for a year, in the society of their faithful friends, the Nimmos.*

* Appendix, Note I.

In 1685 he went to London, with some intention of joining those victims of persecution who were crossing the Atlantic to search for liberty of conscience in the primeval forests of Carolina. Such however, was not his Master's appointment for him. Once more he was thrown into prison, this time on the groundless charge of being connected with Monmouth's rebellion. Having to support himself and his servant during his protracted confinement, he was reduced to great pecuniary straits, only to learn, however, that He for whom he testified could supply his wants, by causing strangers to seek him in his prison and relieve his necessities.* On his liberation he passed over to Holland, where he enjoyed the friendship of that sagacious Prince, to whom the patriots of Britain were now looking for the deliverance of their country.†

But while these honoured servants of the Lord were shut up in prison or driven into exile, our northern district was not left without brave and godly men who dared to risk their liberty and their lives in preaching the Gospel. The gentle James Urquhart of Kinloss, less unbending than his friends Hogg and M'Killican, was disposed to avoid all cause of offence to the Government, but the good man could not refrain from preaching. He lived in constant danger of being apprehended by the Earl of Moray, and, at one time, retired from the district to escape his wrath. John Hepburn, a native of the county of Elgin, licensed by the Presbyterian ministers of London, was frequently at Brodie Castle, held conventicles at Elgin and Keith, and narrowly escaped being taken. In his company we get a glimpse of two preachers of the name of

* See Life by Stevenson. † Appendix, Note J.

Dunoon, but whence they come, and whither they go, we cannot tell. Another who frequently "exercised" with Lord Brodie in his last painful illness, and "was comfortable to him," as he expresses it, was Alexander Dunbar, formerly schoolmaster of Auldearn, and chaplain to the good Lady of Kilravock. He was licensed by a meeting of Presbyterian ministers in Edinburgh, and itinerated through the Province of Moray, preaching the Gospel in the houses of those who were favourable to the cause, chiefly among the Brodie connection. His ministrations appear to have been greatly valued. He, too, had his share of martyr sufferings, as we shall see presently. James Park, John Stewart, and George Meldrum, were equally zealous in their vocation. It is strange how they contrived to escape for so long a time; but their turn to make acquaintance with the dismal dungeons of the rock-prisons of Scotland was at hand.

In the short days of February 1685, while Charles Stuart lay dying at Whitehall, and his concubine, the Duchess of Portsmouth, was taking secret measures for his reception into the bosom of the Romish Church, a Commission of the Privy Council, consisting of the Earl of Errol, Lord High Constable of Scotland; the Earl of Kintore, Lord Treasurer Depute; and Sir George Munro of Culrain, the Major-General, was sitting in Elgin. To stamp out nonconformity in the Province of Moray, and the adjacent counties of Ross, Cromarty, and Sutherland, was the task assigned it. For this end the Commissioners were armed with ample justiciary powers. Similar Courts had already been appointed for the South and the West, and the Presbyterians of the North knew well what was in

store for them. "There is great appearance of trouble to the country. O the cloud that hangs over it, over the family, and my relations," writes James Brodie of Brodie. To lend it an imposing air, care had been taken to surround the Commission with all pomp and circumstance. "At the waterside of Spey" my Lords were met by Bishop Falconar and several gentlemen of Moray. At Elgin "they were received with all solemnitie" by Lord Duffus, in command of a troop of militia, both horse and foot; the Sheriffs of the different counties, all the heritors of the district, and the entire body of the clergy, attended by their elders and "bedrals." The Laird of Brodie was there, watching the proceedings with great anxiety.* The first act of the Commission was to cause a new gallows to be erected "*in terrorem*," say a correspondent of Wodrow's; but Shaw suspects "that, to please the Court and the bishops, some executions would have been made if the king's death had not prevented it." With the assistance of the bishop and his clergy, who condescended to act the honourable part of informers, a list of from two to three hundred nonconformists was made up. The persons named were cited to appear on a given day, by letters read at the market-crosses of all the towns in the district, charging them with disaffection to the Government, and having abetted the rebellion of Bothwell Bridge, holding intercourse with persons intercommuned, withdrawing from attending the parish churches, being present at house or field conventicles, refusing the test, declining to renounce the Covenants, and other treasonable practices of like character. Other

* James Brodie's Diary, Wodrow's History, Book III., chap. x.; Shaw's History of Moray, Anderson's Ladies of the Covenant.

means more cogent were taken to compel their attendance. Some of their number escaped apprehension by flight. Of these was Mr Campbell of Torrich, who ran a narrow risk of falling into the hands of his enemies. I give the following on the authority of a respected and venerable friend whose family have occupied a farm adjoining Torrich for generations:—"The house of Torrich formed, with the farm offices, a court or close. A party of troopers was seen approaching. To escape was impossible. Mr Campbell, who was a slightly built man, of low stature, rushed out to the barn, where two men were at work threshing corn. 'What am I to do?' said he to his servants; 'the troopers are just entering the close.' 'Quick, lie down here,' said one of the men, pointing to the loose straw which he had just beaten out with the flail. Mr Campbell did as he was directed, and the servant—a tall, powerful fellow—proceeded to make up the straw into a wisp in the usual form, totally concealing the person of his master. Having bound it up, he laid it down in the court, at the door of the barn, as if to have it ready to carry to the cattle. The military searched the house and the offices, including the barn, turning over the sheaves and the loose straw, and at last, fairly baffled, mounted their horses and rode off. Just in time, for one of their steeds, attracted by the fresh straw, had began to munch the wisp at the barn-door.

Mr Campbell escaped to Strathnaver, and ultimately to Ireland; but his wife, being unable to travel, and unwilling to forsake her infirm mother-in-law, was apprehended, and thrown into the prison of Elgin. There she found before her her faithful friend, Jane

Taylor. Being brought before the Commissioners, Mrs Campbell admitted that she had not attended the parish church for six years, and that she had been present at conventicles. She declined to come under any obligation to keep the parish church in future. "Are you, then, willing," said the Commissioners, "to find security to leave the kingdom, or engage to keep the kirk?" To this she replied, that she was ready to leave her native land rather than come under an obligation which appeared to her to be inconsistent with her duty to God. Accordingly, sentence of banishment "forth of this kingdom, in respect she has been irregular and disorderly, and will not engage to keep the kirk," was formally pronounced on the brave woman on the 11th day of February. "Under examination," says Anderson, in his Ladies of the Covenant, "Mrs Campbell displayed a dignity of bearing, and a superior intelligence, which struck the adversaries with conviction and the judges with admiration, one of whom spoke in her favour in the face of the Court." I presume the judge thus referred to was the Major-General. Shaw expressly notes that "Sir George was a friend to the oppressed,"* and the following anecdote corroborates the statement:—Among the persons put on their trial were two worthy men from Kiltearn, fruits of Mr Hogg's short ministry there. Their names were John Munro and William Ross; but where everybody was a Munro or a Ross, it was found convenient to distinguish them by a reference to the occupations they followed. The former was commonly known as "John Caird," or the Tinker, and the latter as "William Gow," or the Blacksmith. When

* Shaw's History of Moray, p. 375.

their names, John Munro and William Ross, were called by the officer of Court, the men were silent, and made no sign; whereupon Sir George Munro asked them in Gaelic, "What are your names?" "John Gaird—William Gow," was the immediate reply in the same language. Turning to his colleagues, Sir George said, "My Lords, you are not acquainted with Gaelic, as I am. I beg to tell you that John Caird means John the Tinker, and William Gow, William the Blacksmith; and who ever heard of tinkers and blacksmiths contending for religion? All their concern is about drinking and fighting. I consider that we are insulted by the clergy bringing such characters before us, and I move that we order them at once about their business." The other judges cordially acquiesced in Sir George's view of the case, and dismissed the poor men with an order, which they were perfectly ready to obey, "never to appear there again." It was not altogether ignorance of English that tied their tongues when their names were called, but an understanding with their countryman, the Major-General, who devised this little plot to get them off. I may remark in passing, that Sir George became a Presbyterian after the Revolution, and was made an elder. His name appears on the Commission of the Assembly of 1690, for settling the affairs of the Church north of the Tay; "but," adds Mr Aird of Creich, to whom I am indebted for the tradition just given, "very strange customers have found their way into the eldership, and he must have been one of them." Others also got off, but not so scatheless as the men of Kiltearn. "There being a good many commons, and very mean people," say the Commissioners in their Report, "delated and libelled for

Church disorders and irregularities, and being all formerly fined, and almost all since regular, and the few that had not been so, having sworn to keep the Kirk, and their masters and husbands having engaged for them, the Lords assoilzied them, and left orders with the respective Sheriffs to put the laws vigorously to execution against all Church dissenters." There were few who exhibited the uncompromising fortitude displayed by Mrs Campbell. Most of those brought before the Commissioners solemnly swore that they would "keep the Kirk" in time coming. There were some honourable exceptions, however. Among these may be mentioned, Jane Taylor; Alexander Maver and Mark Maver, portioners of Urquhart; Donald Munro and Andrew Munro of Elgin; and Alexander Munro, designated "sometime of Main;" John Montford, chamberlain to Hay of Park; Jane Brodie, widow of Alexander Thomson, merchant in Elgin; Christina, Daughter, and Beatrix, widow, of Leslie of Aikenway. The last mentioned five were imprisoned in Elgin; the others were associated with Mrs Campbell, Torrich, in the distinction of having a sentence of banishment pronounced on them. This honour was reserved also for the outed ministers, James Urquhart, John Stewart, Alexander Dunbar, and George Meldrum. "The Lords cleansed the country," says the Report, "of all outed ministers and vagrant preachers, and banished four of them for not taking the oath of allegiance, keeping conventicles, and refusing to keep the Kirk." Among those whom the Commissioners ordered to be imprisoned were Sir John Munro of Fowlis, the Presbyterian Mortar-piece, and his son; the former in the jail of Inverness, the latter in that of Tain. Regarding

the father, Dr Doddridge writes:—"The eminent piety of this excellent person exposed him to great sufferings in the cause of religion in those unhappy and infamous days, when the best friends to their country were treated as the worst friends to the Government. His person was doomed to long imprisonment for no pretended cause but what was found against him in the matters of his God; and his estate, which was before considerable, was harassed by severe fines and confiscations, which reduced it to a diminution much more honourable, indeed, than any augmentation could have been, but from which it has not recovered to this day." This godly man, and true friend of the cause of truth, the Commissioners describe in their peculiar dialect, as "a disorderly person unable to travel." Fines figure largely in the sentences pronounced by them on the nonconforming gentlemen of the Province; for the opportunity of extorting money was too good to be let slip. One of their first acts was to impose upon all the heritors and towns, what James Brodie, with unintentional irony, calls "a Voluntary Cess." The Laird of Grant was mulcted in 42,500 pounds Scots; James Brodie of Brodie in 24,000; Brodie of Lethen in 40,000; Brodie of Milton in 10,000, and several others, including some of those sentenced to banishment, in smaller sums. The crimes for which these gentlemen were so heavily punished were, "withdrawing from ordinances," "hearing outed ministers," "keeping unlicensed chaplains," "holding house conventicles," and "entertaining vagrant preachers." This last was a chief count in the indictment against the Laird of Lethen, and certainly not without reason, if the conduct complained of was a punishable offence; for the

hospitable mansion of Lethen was scarcely ever without a Presbyterian minister among its inmates. The Commissioners, in several instances, "fine and amerciate" the husband for "the delinquencies, disorders, and irregularities" of the wife. As the exaction of these enormous fines would prove ruinous to their already crippled fortunes, most of the gentlemen whom we have named, petitioned the Government to remit or reduce the penalties imposed upon them. The Laird of Grant approached the Privy Council, and besought them to revise "the decreet" of their Commission, on the ground, among other reasons, that Mr Alexander Fraser, whom he was accused of keeping as an unlicensed chaplain in his family, was not a member of his household, but a tenant paying rent for a farm; and, moreover, "an actual minister under bishops being instituted by Bishop Murdoch Mackenzie into the Kirk of Daviot."* His suit was in vain: the Council affirmed the sentence of the Commission; but he contrived to evade payment till the Revolution came round and changed the relations of parties. Brodie of Brodie went to London to get, if possible, some reduction of his fine, "but after much pains and expense," says a northern correspondent of Wodrow's, "he was forced to give bond for 22,000 merks to one Colonel Maxwell, a Papist, to whom that sum was paid, and the colonel's acknowledgment of it is yet among the papers of that family." From the same source we learn that Lethen's fine was gifted to the Popish College at Douay, and that a large portion of it was actually paid to the Earl of Perth.†

* The Laird of Grant's Petition in Wodrow's History, Book III., chap. ix.

† Wodrow's History, Book III., chap. ix.

Several movements and incidents connected with the past history of nonconformity in the Province of Moray engaged the attention of the Commissioners. Besides the outed ministers, some outlawed laymen had been harboured and protected by the friendly proprietors of the district, and regarding them Kintore and his colleagues must make inquiry. Robert Martin, clerk of Justiciary, an intimate acquaintance of Lord Brodie's, seems to have been particularly obnoxious to the Government. In 1674 he was hiding for several months in Moray; and in his company we meet with another zealous Covenanter, George Pringle of Torwoodlee,* a son-in-law of the Laird of Lethen. As death had by this time removed Martin beyond the reach of his enemies, it is difficult to see what motive the Commissioners could have had for their inquiry, unless they had suspected him of treasonable designs, which they hoped would implicate his friends.

A subject on which the Lords, according to their own Report, "spent much pains and took great inquiry," was the attitude of the Province towards the insurrection which collapsed at Bothwell Bridge in 1679. It is exceedingly probable that some of our Moray men were in that ill-omened fight; not, I suspect, however, among those who strove to hold, but among those who forced the narrow high backed bridge. At all events, we see by favour of Lord Brodie's Diary, a muster of men and horses to join the king's host at Stirling, and some whose sympathies are with the Covenanters of the West, though they do not approve of their appeal to arms, furnish their contingents. But, apparently, the Government was not satisfied that their

* Appendix, Note K.

support was heartily given. A story had come to the ears of the men in power which roused their suspicions. At the time the militia was called out, the Province was startled by the sudden apparition of the Fiery Cross or *Crann Taire*, as it was called, because disobedience to its summons covered with disgrace. This ancient symbol of urgent muster—"a fiery stick, kindled at both ends, and set upon a pole, and carried in a man's hand," as George Kay, Procurator-Fiscal of Moray, describes it in his deposition,—traversed the district from the neighbourhood of Nairn to Elgin; and at the same time, from Strathspey, Rothes, Knockando, and Birnie, to the county town, whence it was borne to Urquhart by John Proctor a valiant tailor of the Episcopal city, who deponed that he received it from the magistrates. Glengarry meditated a descent on the *Machir* or low-lying sea-board, and it behoved the men of Moray to muster in defence of their home-steads and their beeves. Whether the Lochaber chieftain was daunted by the energetic preparations made for his reception, or whether the gentlemen of the district were misinformed of his intentions, the Macdonald did not appear. Another supposition presented itself to the minds of many: it was a false alarm—a stratagem to which the nonconformists had recourse to prevent the militia of Moray from swelling the ranks of the army raised to suppress the insurrection of the Westland Whigs. This was the view of the case entertained by the Government. Accordingly they instructed the Commissioners to investigate the matter. Several persons were examined, and a mass of evidence collected, but nothing could be proved against the Covenanting gentlemen, though it does look as if the Laird

of Grant had taken eager advantage of what was probably only an idle rumour, to deter the friends of the Government from joining the army, and to justify the nonconformists in withholding their contingents. His father-in-law, Brodie of Lethen, acting upon a letter received from him, spoke of the matter to a number of gentlemen whom he met at a funeral in Auldearn, and the result was the mission of the Fiery Cross.*

After the insurrection was suppressed the king granted an indulgence, which permitted the outed ministers to exercise their sacred functions under certain restrictions, stringent and vexatious enough, but welcomed by some as a relaxation of the former severity. This indulgence was not extended to the districts north of the Tay, but so desirous were the nonconforming gentlemen of Moray of enjoying the pastoral superintendence of the Presbyterian ministers, that they resolved to petition the Government for its extention to them, and to depute two of their number, Sir Hugh Campbell of Cawdor and Thomas Dunbar of Grange, to present and support the petition. From what we know of the sentiments of Thomas Hogg, it is certain that he would have declined to avail himself of the concessions of the indulgence, on the ground of the Erastian assumptions on which they proceeded;† and it is more than probable that other ministers who found an asylum in Moray shared his sentiments, but their friends among the proprietors of the district had not the opportunity of practically discovering this for themselves. The Northern deputies found on their arrival in Edinburgh, that the Government had returned from its indulgent mood, such as it was, to its chronic condition of exasperated

* Appendix, Note L. † Stevenson's Life of Hogg.

severity, and they did not present their petition. Their intention, however, became known to the Privy Council, and was resented by it. It was remembered against them, and made the subject of investigation by the Commission. Nothing beyond the resolution to petition was discovered by the Commissioners, because there was nothing more to be discovered. The results of these inquiries regarding the fiery cross and the indulgence must have been disappointing to the Government, inasmuch as nothing was elicited on which a treasonable construction could be put, but their influence can be seen in the weight of the fines which were imposed.

The vigour with which the Lord Commissioners proceeded against the nonconformists gave great satisfaction to the clergy. On the day on which sentence of banishment was pronounced on so many of their opponents, "the bishop and clergy of the diocese of Moray"—I quote from the Records of the Privy Council—"attended the Lords in a body, and gave them their hearty thanks for the great pains and diligence they had used for the good and encouragement of the Church and clergy in this place, and for reducing the people to order and regularity, and begged the Lords would allow them to represent their sense and gratitude thereof to the Lords of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council." Colin Falconar, the bishop of the day, was a native of the district—his father being proprietor of the small estate of Downduff, in the romantic valley of the Findhorn,—and was credited with a disposition "to make up strifes." A calm, dispassionate man, of considerable tact, he seems to have trusted for the advancement of Episcopacy, more to

his personal influence exerted to detach his acquaintances from the other side, than to violent means of coercion; but doubtless it was comforting to him and his clergy to think that the "vagrant preachers," as they called them whose ministrations so many of the people preferred to their own, were now to be banished the kingdom. Yet the vagrant preachers were not banished after all. The intelligence of the king's death, slowly travelling northward, reached Elgin at last, and brought the session of the commission to an abrupt termination. Errol and Kintore hastened to Edinburgh, leaving the nonconformists on whom they had passed sentence lying in the prison of Elgin. James was not long upon the throne when he discovered that it was a suicidal policy to banish the disaffected to other lands, where they could conspire in safety for the overthrow of his Government. Manifestly it was safer for him to have them put out of the way by death, or, at least, to have them kept in strict confinement within stone walls. Accordingly, instead of carrying out the sentence of the Commission, the Government ordered Alexander Dunbar and John Stewart to be imprisoned in the Bass, and James Urquhart and George Meldrum in Blackness Castle. Lilias Dunbar—Mrs Campbell, Torrich—was still detained in the prison of Elgin. No special account of their imprisonment, farther than the statement that they were liberated in 1686 in impaired health, has been transmitted to us; but from a full and circumstantial narrative of the sufferings of another northern martyr, preserved for us in the homely pages of Wodrow, we can gather that imprisonment was in reality a severer infliction than banishment. We have reason, indeed,

to bless God that we cannot even imagine the horrors of those awful dungeons to which our Covenanting forefathers were consigned.

The city of London was, at this time, a safer place for Scottish Covenanters than any spot within the borders of their own country. Meetings for religious worship were less likely to be disturbed in the neighbourhood of St Paul's than in the moorland solitudes of Scotland; and many of the younger Presbyterians, especially of those who aspired to the dangerous distinctions of the ministerial office, repaired to the English metropolis to prosecute their studies, and to enjoy the benefit of the instructions of the nonconformist ministers of that city. Among these was James Fraser, a native of our district, who graduated at King's College, Aberdeen, in 1678, and went up to London about the beginning of the following year. He was permitted to live for a time in undisturbed intercourse with the Presbyterian pastors; but at length, about the end of 1684, he was apprehended while attending a meeting addressed by the celebrated Alexander Shiels. Chained together in the hold of the kitchen-yacht of the royal household, Shiels and young Fraser were carried down to Leith. The latter, along with two hundred and forty others, most of them Westland Covenanters, was then driven, weary, footsore, and hungry, through Fife, Angus, and the Mearns, to Dunnottar, a stronghold of the Keiths, built on an isolated rock overhanging the ocean, and lately purchased from the Earl Marischal as a State prison. The treatment to which the wretched prisoners were subjected on their six days' march was barbarous in the extreme. When their steps lagged, their brutal escort freely used their pikes to goad them

to a quicker pace, regardless alike of the feebleness of age or the infirmities of disease. On coming to the banks of the North Esk, they found that the only lodging provided for their accommodation was the exposed bridge across that river, on which they were obliged to pass a night of storm and rain, guarded by the soldiers at either end. On Sabbath, 24th May 1685, they arrived at Dunnottar. Some having contrived to escape on the journey, their number was now reduced to one hundred and sixty-seven, forty-five of whom were females. "At the extremity of the rocky promontory of Dunnottar, on the very edge of the precipice, a projecting building, which looks as if it had been erected as an addition to the original dwelling of the Keiths, crowns the giddy height. In the upper part of this exposed tower, the private apartments of the Earls Marischal looked out upon the ocean. Under them is a vault fifty-four feet long by fifteen broad, and twelve high. Under this, again, at the seaward end of the tower, is a low narrow dungeon, fifteen feet by nine. A window in the end wall, looking out upon the sea, and narrow slits in the side walls, admitted some light into the upper vault; but the lower was in complete darkness. It had no window or opening whatever, save a chink or slit of irregular outline in the wall, and on the level of the floor, made, it is supposed, to afford an outlet for the waters of a little fountain of brackish water which wells up in the cell."* Into the larger of these vaults George Keith of Whiteridge thrust the entire band of prisoners delivered into his hand on that Sabbath morning—men, women, and children. It contained no provision for the separation

* Longmuir's Dunnottar Castle.

of the sexes, or for such retirement as common decency required, and it was so damp that they sank ankle-deep in the mire which covered its floor. "So throng were they in it," says Wodrow, "that they could not sit without leaning one upon another. They had not the least accommodation for sitting, lying, or leaning, and were perfectly stiffled for want of air." In this miserable vault they were pent up all the summer; "and it was a miracle," adds the historian "that they were not all killed." Any one who has seen their place of detention, even in its present state of ruin, will have no difficulty in endorsing this reflection. The horrors of the Black Hole of Calcutta would certainly have been anticipated in the dungeon vaults of Dunnottar, if the rigour of the climate had not supplied a counteractive to the inhumanity of man. As it was, numbers sickened and died in the pestilential atmosphere; nor was the condition of the survivors much improved by the removal of forty-two of their number into the lower vault. So stifling was that dark dungeon that its wretched inmates were glad to lie prone in the mire, with their mouths to the chink in the wall, to which I have already alluded, that they might breathe a little fresh air. Mr Fraser, who was one of them contracted a cough that never left him, by taking his turn at this outlet for the brackish waters of the well. "The barbarities of their keepers and soldiers," continues Wodrow, "are beyond expression." Money had to be paid even for cold water, and when the soldiers wearied of selling it in small quantities, they wantonly poured what remained in the barrels into the vaults, to incommode the prisoners the more. The country people were forbidden to supply them with

bed-clothes, and some of their friends who came to visit them were compelled to share their confinement. In Dunnottar, as in the Bass, it was a favourite amusement with the soldiers to disturb "the Whigs" while at worship, by coarse ribaldry and obscene jests. Eventually the melancholy condition of these sufferers for conscience sake was somewhat ameliorated. At the instance of the governor's lady, who happened one day to visit the vaults, and was shocked by the inhumanity and indecency of the scene, the women were assigned separate quarters, and twelve of the men in the lower vault were removed to another place. Even with this partial alleviation, their condition was one of almost unimaginable hardship. Can we wonder that some of them made a desperate attempt to escape? "About twenty-five of them," says Dr Longmuir, "descended from the window, and, at the utmost hazard of their lives, crept along the dangerous rock overhanging the sea—two of them did lose their lives;—and the alarm having been given by some women who were at work in the washing-house, fifteen were retaken, being unable from their weakness, to run far, and the country around being opposed to their cause. When those who were recaptured were brought back to the guard-house, they were bound and laid on their backs on a form, and a fiery match was put between the fingers of both hands, and six soldiers by turns blew it to keep it equal with their fingers, and this was continued for three hours. The consequence was, that William Niven lost one of the fingers of his left hand, and Alexander Dalgleish died of the wounds he got, and an inflammation resulting from them. Some had the bones of

their fingers reduced to ashes; and others, besides the one mentioned, died under this torture."*

After three months' confinement they were examined by the Earl Marischal on behalf of the Privy Council, who tendered to them the ensnaring Oaths of the Test. Thirty men and seven women took these oaths, and were liberated; but the majority, notwithstanding all that they had endured, continued firm and unshaken, and were sentenced to be banished to the plantations of America. Debilitated by their long and cruel confinement, they suffered more on their return march to Leith than they did on their previous journey. Mr Fraser was very infirm and unable to walk, but the officer in command of the escort would not permit him to hire a horse. With his companions in suffering, to the number of a hundred, he was gifted, under an indenture of four years servitude, to Scott of Pitlochie, who engaged to carry them to New Jersey. They set sail from Leith about the middle of September 1685. The voyage was a disastrous one. Scarcely had they got clear of Land's End when a virulent fever broke out among the enfeebled prisoners of Dunnottar, and before they gained the American shore sixty dead bodies were consigned to the deep. "The blood of these martyrs," says Mr Fraser, "will be found in the skirts of their enemies, as really as if they had died at the Cross and Grassmarket of Edinburgh." Pitlochie and his wife fell victims to the fever, but their deaths brought no alleviation to the wretched survivors. It is stated that when they attempted to join in social worship, the brutal captain of the ship, in order to disturb them, would throw planks of wood down into

* Longmuir's Dunnottar Castle, p. 63; Wodrow's Hist., Vol. iv.

the hold where they were huddled together, careless of the consequences to life or limb. It appears that he harboured the design of steering the vessel for Jamaica, and selling his living freight as slaves; but the winds defeated his purpose, and after a melancholy passage of seventeen weeks the vessel arrived at New Jersey. Here Pitlochie's son-in-law failed in a lawsuit to establish a right of property in the prisoners; the jury finding that they did not go on board of their own accord, nor under any voluntary engagement for money or service. Mr Fraser retired to Westbury, in Connecticut, where he ministered with great acceptance and success to a congregation that gathered around him. During his ministry there, he was united in marriage to one of his companions in persecution, Jane Moffat, daughter of a landed proprietor in Tweeddale, for whom, previous to her transportation, her father had to pay, at different times, a thousand merks of fine, for "refusing to keep the Kirk," and frequenting conventicles. When they heard of William's accession they returned to Scotland, and Mr Fraser became minister of the Parish of Glencorse, in the Presbytery of Dalkeith. His ministry there was but short.

As he spoke Gaelic, Mr Fraser was put on those deputations which the General Assembly repeatedly sent to the North to give occasional services in parishes for which the Church was unable to provide incumbents. Thus the people of Alness had several opportunities of hearing him preach, and they resolved to secure his services as their pastor. Their first application, though supported by Sir John Munro of Fowlis —"the Presbyterian Mortar-piece,"—was unsuccessful owing apparently to Mrs Fraser's not unnatural reluc-

tance to leave her native district. They persevered, however, appealing to the General Assembly. On the evening before the meeting of the Supreme Court an incident occurred in Glencorse which decided the case in their favour. A new church had been built by the heritors to induce Mr Fraser to remain with them. It had just been finished, when it caught fire through the carelessness of one of the workmen. When Mr Fraser saw the flames bursting through the roof of the new structure, in the erection of which he had doubtless taken a deep interest, he said to his wife:—"This will never do; I must use the little Erse (Gaelic) I have, it seems, and go and preach Christ in my native country." The good lady took the same view of the destruction of the church, regarding it as a providential indication of duty, and cheerfully acquiesced in what was to her almost a second sentence of banishment. Mr Fraser was admitted minister of Alness in 1696, and laboured there with great fidelity till his death in 1711.* Among the Papers of the Kilravock Family is preserved a letter written by Mr Fraser as Moderator of the Synod of Ross, to the Baron of the day, earnestly remonstrating with him for his conduct as Sheriff of Ross, in conducting a parliamentary election at Fortrose so as to encroach on the sanctity of the Lord's day. It is a document of considerable vigour and point, dignified in tone, and in every respect creditable to the character of the writer as a minister; but I fear the Baron was not deeply impressed by it. It is docketed in his own handwriting, "A Comical Synodical Rebuke." Mr Fraser's son James, author of the well-known treatise on Sanctification, an exposition of the sixth and seventh

* Preface to Fraser's "Scripture Doctrine of Sanctification."

chapters of the Epistle to the Romans, which the Exegesis of the nineteenth century has produced nothing to supersede, died minister of his father's parish in 1789.

In all the cases of persecution subsequent to 1680, that notorious statute of the Parliament of 1681, technically called "the Test," played an important part. Taken in connection with another Act of the same Parliament, by which the succession to the Crown was secured to the Popish Duke of York, the test, declaring, as it did, that "the King's Majesty is the only Supreme Governor of this realm, over all persons and in all causes, as well ecclesiastical as civil." was regarded with great alarm. Wodrow very properly characterises this oath as a "medley of Popery, Prelacy, and Erastianism;" and even the Duke of York himself acknowledged to Argyll, that "no honest man could take it." Yet it was prescribed as a condition of office to all functionaries, military, civil, or ecclesiastical, and as a test of fidelity to all whose loyalty was suspected. The great offence of the nonconformists was their refusal to take this oath. They were not singular in refusing to take it. The more respectable of the Episcopal clergy of Moray had great difficulty in swallowing it. Mr Hugh Rose of Nairn evaded subscription for a year, but when the matter was pressed, and it became necessary to choose between the enjoyment of his benefice and the answer of a good conscience, he took the Test. To their credit, eight of his fellow-diocesans chose the other alternative, and demitted their charges rather than subscribe. Their names deserve to be recorded—James Stuart, at Inveravon; Alexander Marshall, at Dipple; William Geddes, at Urquhart; James Horn, at Elgin; Alexander Cumming, at Dallas; James

Smith, at Durris; William Speed, at Botriphnie; and John Cumming, at Auldearn. Nor were these the only clergymen in the diocese of Moray who abandoned their livings rather than do violence to their convictions. There were others who broke completely with Episcopacy and joined the outed ministers. Conspicuous among these were Alexander Fraser of Daviot, and Angus M'Bean of Inverness. The former repudiated Episcopacy long before the passing of the Test Act, and for deeper reasons than it supplied. He appears to have been in orders for six or seven years before coming to the saving knowledge of the truth. We do not know through whose instrumentality the change was effected, though we may conjecture that he was indebted to the guidance of Hogg, M'Killican, and Ross, who were at that time within reach of him; but the immediate result was, that he severed his connection with the system under which he had been introduced to the ministry, and joined those who were suffering persecution for their testimony to the truth. We find him at Brodie Castle, taking counsel with its lord, and evincing clearer views of duty, and greater decision of character, than his adviser. Under date 2nd January 1677, Lord Brodie writes:—"Mr Alexander Fraser and others were here. I perceive that Mr Alexander did not hold it lawful to compear (before the Earl of Moray, and a Committee of the Privy Council), for it did infer an owning of the civil magistrate to be judge in matters of religion; and that it was as the High Commission, and bishops made judges. I expressed my dislike of the opinion, but thought it free for any to appear or not as seemed most for the honour of God, or his own good." He preached frequently

among the Presbyterians of Ross and Moray in the summer of 1675, and was one of M'Killican's assistants at the Obsdale Communion. The hospitable mansion of Lethen sheltered him for a time, and he appears to have lived for several years on a farm in the neighbourhood of Castle Grant. As might have been expected he was peculiarly obnoxious to the Prelatists; and it was probably for harbouring him that the Laird of Grant was fined so heavily by the Commission which sat at Elgin in 1685. The latter part of his life Mr Fraser passed in the parish of Croy. One wonders how he contrived to elude the grasp of his enemies when his fellow-labourers all fell into their hands. It was not his lot to endure the severer trials of imprisonment or banishment; but we cannot take into account the privations involved in his wandering from place to place, depending for his support, as it would appear, upon the liberality of those friends—themselves a persecuted people—who loved him for his principles and honoured him for his sacrifices, without realising that persecution for the truth, even in that its mildest form, was a severe test of conviction and fidelity.

To Angus M'Bean, a member of the good old Highland family of Kinchyle, belongs the distinction of being the last who suffered for nonconformity in Moray, if not in Scotland. His conscience and his heart were with the godly Presbyterians from the very first, and it was with great reluctance that he consented to receive Episcopal orders. He began his ministry in Ayr. Many of the curates settled in the parishes of the West, were North-Countrymen, and far from being a credit to their native district, in character or in literature.*

* Gadderer of Girvan, a man of some note in his day, was, I suppose, more respectable than the majority of Norland curates settled in the West.

To counteract, and if possible, correct, the bad impression made by these incompetent men, the bishops took steps to secure, for the more prominent charges, the best students the Divinity Halls could turn out. Mr M'Bean was selected for Ayr, and recommended in the strongest terms by Professor Menzies of Aberdeen. He did not remain long in the West. In 1683 he was admitted to the First Charge of Inverness. From Mr William Stuart, who succeeded Mr Hogg in Kiltearn, and subsequently became minister of Inverness, we learn that Mr M'Bean, "inveighed against the sins and errors of the time, particularly against those of Popery, with great judgment, zeal, and boldness, especially in '86 and '87, when Popery was a deluge threatening to overflow the land; from that he advanced, as he grew in saving illumination, to open up the defection and spirit of persecution which prevailed among the party, and at last found it necessary to make a secession from them." In June 1687 he retired from the judicatories of the Established Church, dissatisfied with its constitution, and disgusted with its tyrannical conduct. In October of the same year he preached, before what is described as a numerous and splendid

He returned to his native parish of Urquhart after 1688, and officiated among the Episcopalians of the district till his death in 1714. The first sentence of the epitaph on his tombstone in the Churchyard of Urquhart, runs thus:—In spem B. Resurrectionis, hic requiescit vir reverendus et eruditus Mr Alexr. Gadderar paroeciae de Girvan, cui praefuit ad annum 1688 Ecclesiae et Regno Scotiae antiquissimis faustum in Dioecesi Glasenensi pastor Canonice ordinatus, cum ille, una cum trecentis circiter aliis, sacris ordinibus regnique legibus munitis, contra jura omnia divina humanaque tumultuantibus in Apostolicum Ecclesiae regimen conjuratis, gregem et reditum vi armata amittere esset coactus." "*Faustum*" is the last word we would expect Gadderar and his friends to apply to the year 1688. The probability is that the prefix *in* was omitted by the stonecutter. Query, Was he a Whig, and did he omit these two letters of design?

audience, a sermon from the suggestive words, "Surely it is meet to be said unto God, I have borne chastisement, I will not offend any more: that which I see not teach thou me: if I have done iniquity, I will do no more."—Job xxxiv. 31, 32. In the application of this discourse he appealed to the omniscience of God, that it was his choice to live and die minister of Inverness, above any place or people in the world, but that "he found he could not continue among them as formerly without rebelling against God and conscience," and, therefore, that he renounced Prelacy and demitted his charge. He begged his hearers to put the most charitable construction upon his conduct that they could; and to enable them to do so, he found it his duty to tell them that the following Scriptures were by a strong hand and great power conveyed and brought home to his heart: "Say not A confederacy, to whom this people shall say, A confederacy."—Isa. viii. 12. "Wherefore come out from among them," etc.—2 Cor. vi. 17, 18. "And I heard another voice from heaven, saying, Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues."—Rev. xviii. 4. After explaining and applying these Scriptures to his own case, he took his leave of them. "Some," says Mr Stuart, "were angry, some surprised; but those who received most good of his ministry were all in tears."

The following Sabbath he preached as a Presbyterian minister in his own house—one account suggests that it must rather have been in Mr M'Killican's meeting-house in Alness. A congregation gathered around him in Inverness, a town which the Episcopal indictment—by way, I suppose, of aggravating Mr

M'Bean's offence—describes as "one of the most loyall, orderly, and regular cities in the nation"—a somewhat equivocal compliment, considering the quarter from which it came. The secession of a man of such weight of character, and the great power and success with which he preached the Gospel after he had broken through the toils of Prelacy, produced a profound impression, and, as might be expected, aroused the wrath of the hierarchy. Apprehended in Edinburgh, Mr M'Bean was examined before the Privy Council, and after a short imprisonment was permitted to return home, Duncan Forbes of Culloden (father of the Lord President), giving bail to a large amount that he would answer when called. But, suddenly and unexpectedly, a second charge came to him to appear before the Council on six days notice. Athough he was in very feeble health, and the cold intense—the time was February 1688,—he hastened up to Edinburgh, and reported himself to the Council a few hours before the time when his bail would be held as forfeited. "Being staged for his disloyal principles," as it is phrased in Fountainhall's Decisions, he was plied with the usual ensnaring questions. "Is the king's power limited or not?" demanded the Earl of Perth, then Chancellor of the Kingdom. "I know no unlimited power but the power of the eternal God," was the reply. The noble confessor was then handed over to an Ecclesiastical Court, consisting of the Archbishop of St Andrews and eight clerical coadjutors. Boldly avowing his change of creed and refusing to return to the Episcopal fold, he was formally deposed by the Primate and committed to the Tolbooth of Edinburgh. Mr Stuart tells us that "he was so confined to close prison that

no friend could have any access to him; and such was the coldness of the season, the weakness of his body, and the rigour of his attendants, that his life was in great danger." Forbes of Culloden, with another northern friend, made earnest suit for his liberation, but though they offered bail to the amount of 10,000 merks, the Chancellor would make no concession. All through the spring and summer and autumn of the eventful year 1688 the minister of Inverness lay in prison.* In December, when King James's Government was in its death-throes, and the people impatient to realise that deliverance from civil and ecclesiastical oppression for which the nation was panting, the prison doors were broken open by "such as were friends to prisoners of hope," to use Mr Stuart's expression, and Mr M'Bean was set at liberty. Alas, the deliverance came too late! The jail had done its work. The good man died within two months after his release, at the age of thirty-three; a martyr for the truth as certainly as those witnesses who had the honour conferred on them of bearing testimony for their Lord at the stake and on the scaffold. Shaw characterises him as a "man of parts and piety." Mr Stuart, with more feeling and with more knowledge, for he had sat as a disciple at Mr M'Bean's feet, describes him as "a man of great judgment, excellent learning, and in his own opinion less than the least of all saints, but in the judgment of those who had the best discerning, a man who grew in grace and in the knowledge of the Lord Jesus Christ, to a more than ordinary degree." Wodrow, adverting to his recantation sermon, and to his

* This is the only conclusion which the dates admit of, though Mr Stuart, who is somewhat hazy in his statements, would seem to indicate a shorter term of imprisonment.

association, in the crisis of his career, with M'Killican, adds in a tone of regret, "This is all the account I can give of this excellent man."*

We would fain have a fuller account of him; for I cannot help feeling, as I study the meagre details which have been handed down to us, that if the picture could be filled in according to the outline which they present, we should have before us one of the noblest characters of an age not unprolific in moral heroes. They suggest a gentle and amiable young man, of high soul and clear intellect, and truth-loving heart, struggling with the entanglements of a false position, earnestly seeking for the light, and asking grace to act up to his convictions, as the light reveals itself; till, at last, the Spirit of God triumphs, and the heart finds rest in unreserved surrender to the Lord, and the man is enabled to put position, prospects, friendship, everything, under his feet, and boldly, yet most meekly and calmly, to declare, that he counts these but loss and refuse in comparison with sincerity of spirit, and the answer of a good conscience, and the approval of his Lord. The record of that mental conflict would have been very valuable, but there is no evidence that Mr M'Bean kept a journal of his religious experience. You see him stand before the Primate, with pale countenance and lofty brow, a hectic flush on his cheek, and a bright light in his eye—the material frame bearing testimony to the intensity of the spiritual struggle through which he has passed. You hear him answer his judges with calm dignity and composure, for he

* Wodrow's History, Vol. iv.; Letters from Mr Stuart of Inverness, and Mr Alexander Fraser of Urquhart (who married a daughter of Mr M'Bean's), in Appendix to Vol. iv. of Wodrow's History; Fountainhall's Decisions, etc.

sees the heavens opened, and the Son of Man standing at the right hand of God. You behold him a sufferer in the last stages of consumption, languishing in a stifling and noisome cell, but joyfully anticipating a higher release than that which man denied him; and when the time of his early, but not premature, departure is come, you picture him passing away in peace, as one who could say, with the still more youthful Renwick, when his judicial murderers asked him if he desired longer time—"It is all one to me. If protracted, it is welcome; if shortened, it is welcome. My Master's time is the best."

James Renwick, from the village of Minniehive, away among the romantic glens of Dumfriesshire, and Angus M'Bean, from the wooded banks of the silvery Ness, at the mouth of the Grand Caledonian Valley, were the last who were called upon to witness to the death for Christ's Crown and Covenant. These two young men—the Cameronian leader and the converted Episcopalian minister, the Border peasant and the Highland gentleman,—represented very different phases of the spirit that animated the Covenanting struggle, but I fancy they had much in common; and their devotion to the Master whom they both served brought them into close association in the fellowship of His sufferings. On the 17th of February 1688, Renwick sealed his testimony with his blood, ascending from the scaffold, by the passage of a short, sharp death, to that home "above the clouds," of which he spoke in rapturous tones to the assembled thousands of sorrowing and earnest spectators. Ten days after, M'Bean was delivered over to a long, lingering death, protracted through months of suffering, in the living entombment

of the tolbooth. We do not ask whose was the harder lot; it suffices us to know that both were enabled to witness a good confession, that both were faithful unto death, and that both have received the promised crown of life. "Renwick," says Dodds, in his Fifty Years Struggle of the Covenanters, "like the shepherd overwhelmed in the snow, perished within sight of the door. The door of deliverance was speedily opened on the arrival of William in November 1688." Yes, "within sight of the door," but seeing it not, save in anticipation. M'Bean lived to see it actually opening, and then closed his eyes on all earthly scenes. He entered not in by that door of deliverance for the Church persecuted, for the celestial gates were thrown open at that very moment for his admission to the ranks of the Church glorified. Many of his fellow-martyrs in the Covenant Cloud of Witnesses passed before him into the joy of their Lord; but some, on whose faithful contendings we have been gazing through the dim perspective of two hundred intervening years, were permitted to enter on that period, not of repose, but of restoration and reconstruction, which now dawned on the exhausted Church of Scotland: and to the closing scenes of their lives we must devote our concluding chapter.

CHAPTER VI.

Closing Scenes—Death of John M'Killican—Thomas Hogg's Return—Restored to Kiltearn—Domestic Chaplain to the King—Death in Peace—Thomas Hogg's Grave—Character of Thomas Hogg—Spiritual Direction—Mrs Campbell of Torrich—William Balloch and Jane Taylor—Hugh Anderson of Cromarty—Grace Crombie and the Apple-tree—Fraser of Brea—The Magistrates of Inverness—Conclusion.

OF the evicted ministers of Moray and Ross, six survived the Revolution—Thomas Hogg, John M'Killican, Hugh Anderson, James Urquhart, George Meldrum, and John M'Culloch. With the exception of M'Killican, who died before the Act restoring the surviving Presbyterian ministers to their benefices came into operation, they all returned to their respective parishes. On being released from his second confinement in the Bass, the minister of Fodderty retired, as we have seen, to his home in Alness. His impaired health having somewhat improved, he began to preach as he was wont, to the people who gathered around him. Availing themselves of the concessions of James's *third* Indulgence, by which he granted "liberty to all his subjects to meet and serve God, after their own way and manner, be it in private houses, chapels, or places purposely hired or built for that use," M'Killican's hearers built a meeting-house for him on his own ground, which was crowded from Sabbath to Sabbath by a concourse of people from all the surround-

ing districts. As he was greatly impoverished by long imprisonment, fines, and the confiscation of his property, the people who waited on his ministry charged themselves with his support; and Wodrow records that "they gave him a competent maintenance." Shortly after, he was invited to Elgin. The diocese of Moray was at that time administered by Dr William Hay, a prelate of a different stamp from his predecessors and colleagues. A man of a mild and gentle temper, and constitutionally averse to violence he was strongly disposed to curb the persecuting zeal of his clergy. On one occasion some of them put the suggestive question to him, in reference to an injunction of his not to vex the Presbyterian ministers, "What then shall we do, for the schismatic preachers will prevail?" "Excel them in life and doctrine," was the equally significant reply. From such a bishop, and under the protection of the Indulgence, M'Killican would have had little to fear in preaching the Gospel to the inhabitants of the Episcopal city; but though the sphere was attractive he did not see his way to close with the call. He came to a different resolution when the people of Inverness, immediately after the Revolution, called him to their Second Charge; and he removed his residence to that town. It is melancholy to think, however, that his main inducement was the hope of obtaining some relief from the sufferings produced by the malady which he contracted in the Bass. There were medical men in Inverness of whose skill he wished to take advantage. But the good man was disappointed in the benefit which he expected from the change. His disease increased, and though he preached for a few Sabbaths, he was cut off before steps

were taken for his formal induction. In his last illness he was able to speak but little, but what he did say, showed that he died as he lived, in full and simple trust in his Saviour; in the calm and unclouded hope of His salvation, with eternal joy. He breathed his last on the 8th of June 1689. His family would fain have carried his remains to Alness, but the disturbed state of the district, while the Revolution was consolidating itself in the North, rendered this impossible, and the interment took place in the town where he died. His grave is somewhere in one of the old churchyards of Inverness. "Thus," to quote Wodrow's quaint expression, "he passed cleanly off the stage,"—a decided, out-spoken, resolute man, of quick warm temperament and glowing piety—a man who betrayed no doubt as to the path of duty in trying times, and no hesitation in walking in it.*

Availing himself of King James's Indulgence, and probably anticipating the approaching deliverance of his country by the Prince of Orange, Thomas Hogg returned from Holland early in 1688, after an exile of about two years and a-half. Mrs Hogg followed him a few months later, under the protection of Nimmo. For the next two years he seems to have lived in Edinburgh; at least, the following quotations from the Diary of Mrs Campbell of Torrich—Lilias Dunbar—indicate that he did not appear in our neighbourhood till the summer of 1691. Writing on the 3rd of July of that year, Mrs Campbell says:—"In the afternoon a friend

* A son of M'Killican's, as we learn from the Diary of James Brodie, proposed marriage to Grizzel Dunbar of Grangehill, a grand-daughter of Lord Brodie's, and, we presume, was accepted. His descendants have continued to occupy a corresponding place in society. The beautiful estate of Relugas, in the valley of the Findhorn, was for some time in the family.

came to me who told me that Mr Thomas Hogg was come to Moray, and was at present at Muirtown. This was desirable news to me, which I had longed and prayed for; he being one in whom there was much of the Lord to be seen, and who of all others had done most good to my husband's soul and mine, and was, I may say, an interpreter, one in a thousand." Four days after, her husband and she repaired to Muirtown, where they had the great delight of conversing with the venerated man of God; Mrs Campbell recording with simple pathos that she had not spoken with him for eight years before. The news of his coming brought many others to Muirtown besides Mrs Campbell, all eager to congratulate him on his return, and to consult him about their spiritual state, for the Word of the Lord was precious in those days; but Mr Hogg was now very infirm, and unable to bear the fatigue of lengthened conferences, so "the good-wife of Torrich" was fain to restrict her converse to two special points on which she desired light, though her mind was full of questions which she longed to ask. Muirtown was but a stage in the journey northward. Kiltearn, beloved and longed-for, was his goal; and by the end of the month we find him there, installed in his old charge, after a long and dreary separation of twenty-nine years. He had already taken his seat as minister of Kiltearn in the General Assembly which met on the 16th October 1690, to initiate the reconstruction of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland; and now he has entered again on the actual duties of the pastorate. What a Sabbath must that have been on which he preached his first sermon as the restored minister of the parish! Without doubt, a day of deep

searchings of heart for both pastor and people! Very deep, and of varied character, must have been their emotions. Think of the white-haired minister, not so old in years—he is only sixty-three—but, by reason of great and manifold hardships, very old in constitution, standing up before his people—the same over whom he was appointed in the Lord thirty-seven years before, and yet not the same! How many have departed! How changed those who remain! A generation has passed away, and another has grown old since last he stood in that place to declare the message of salvation. And what solemn pregnant teachings there have been for him and them, and the Church of God, in the interval! What wonderful manifestations of the counsel of Him who causeth the wrath of man to praise Him, and knoweth when to restrain the remainder thereof! How the faithful servant of the Lord must have prized his opportunity of preaching the Gospel again to the people of his first love! How much he must have had to tell them of the wonderful power and wisdom, and love and patience of God towards His servants and people! And with what urgency must he have spoken, knowing that his time was short, feeling, as he did, that the hand of death was upon him. And the people, with what eagerness must they have listened to his words, hanging on his lips! The converts of his early ministry who still survived, such men as John Caird and William Gow, would doubtless anticipate a rich outpouring from that wealth of Christian experience which he had accumulated in the furnace of affliction; and while they could not but notice with pain, the sad change which the rage of the persecutor had wrought on the once stalwart frame of their beloved pastor, they

would be slow to receive its too evident intimation that he had come back to them again only to die. Alas! it was even so. He seems to have been but a few weeks in Kiltearn when he felt oppressed with a sense of his inability, through physical weakness, to overtake the duties of his pastorate. It was this, in all probability, that induced him to entertain the idea of removing to London, when King William, who had learned, at the Hague, to appreciate the man and his preaching, appointed him one of his domestic chaplains. We find Mr Hogg broaching this matter to Mr William Stuart—who has come across from Inverness to officiate for him on a Sabbath when he feels too feeble to preach,—evidently with the purpose of influencing the mind of his friend in favour of Kiltearn, should overtures be made to him in the event of his own removal. But a higher Potentate than King William had summoned the suffering saint. A complication of disorders carried him off on the 4th of January 1692, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, and within six months of his return to Kiltearn.

During his last illness, which was severe and protracted, Thomas Hogg enjoyed much spiritual comfort and support. No expression of complaint or impatience escaped his lips. His trust was unclouded by the shadow of a single doubt or fear. His faithful William Balloch, hearing him moaning heavily on one occasion, asked him whether it was soul or bodily pain that he felt. "No soul trouble, man," was the reply, "for a hundred and hundred times my Lord hath assured me that I shall be with Him for ever; but I am making moan for my body." On another occasion he said, "Pity me, O my friends! and do not

pray for my life. Allow me to go to my eternal rest." And then, with deep emotion, he exclaimed, "Look, O my God upon my affliction and my pain, and forgive all my sins." Mr Stuart of Inverness appears to have visited him repeatedly on his death-bed. He narrates that the dying saint said to him on one of these visits, "Never did the sun in the firmament shine more brightly to the eyes of my body than Christ, the Sun of Righteousness, hath shined on my soul." And again, on the last occasion on which he saw him, "The unchangeableness of my God is my rock." He retained his faculties to the last, and, surrounded by his wife and friends, who were dissolved in tears, he breathed out his life with these words:—"Now He is come, my Lord is come; praise, praise to Him for evermore. Amen."*

The spiritual welfare of his people was an object of deep solicitude to him in the prospect of death. It was his heart's desire and prayer to God, at that solemn juncture, that a minister divinely called and equipped might be settled among them when he was sleeping in the dust. Nothing would have given him more pain than the thought that his beloved flock "would fall into the hands of a careless and worldly-minded pastor." An Act of the Scottish Parliament, passed in 1690, conferred the Patronage of parishes on the heritors and elders, with power to the people to approve or disapprove before the Presbytery of the bounds. There was danger that this trust would not always be discharged in the interests of vital godliness. Apprehensive of this, Mr Hogg resolved to record a singular but most emphatic protest against its possible abuse

* Anderson's Bass Rock, Stevenson's Life of Hogg.

in his parish. He gave injunctions that his mortal remains should be interred in the door-way of the church, with this inscription upon his tomb-stone:—"THIS STONE SHALL BEAR WITNESS AGAINST THE PARISHIONERS OF KILTEARN IF THEY BRING ANE UNGODLY MINISTER IN HERE." In what sense he would have the expression "ungodly minister" understood, may be gathered from a saying of his recorded by Lord Brodie—"He was never a called minister that could not say, 'The things which we have seen with our eyes, heard with our ears, and our hands have handled of the Word of Life.'" His instructions were faithfully followed; and it must be said to the credit of the parishioners of Kiltearn, that they have honoured his protest to this day. They chose for his immediate successor the man whom he himself would have chosen —his friend, William Stuart of Inverness. In some of the subsequent appointments men were placed in Thomas Hogg's pulpit whose admission the silent sentinel at the door could not be regarded as sanctioning, but the people were not consenting parties. They gave effect to his protest by ignoring the ministrations of men whom he could not recognise as "*godly*" and by seeking the bread of life at the hands of pastors whom he would approve. As for the men themselves, they may not have felt that his protest lay against them, as the door at the threshold of which he lies had been walled up, and they had entered by another way.

His death though not unexpected, threw a deep gloom over a wide circle of Christian friends. There were many, North and South, who shared the sentiments to which Mrs Campbell of Torrich gives expres-

sion in the following extract from her diary, though there were few, I believe, who could express them with equal simplicity and beauty:—"I cannot show at large what was the exercise of my spirit upon hearing of his death. When it was told me I spoke not a word, till I went to the Lord in secret, and mourned before Him. I was four days much troubled, but strove against excessive grief; and I have reason to bless my Rock, who gave me a composed frame of spirit, and made my soul to profit by the death of this blessed man. His removal made the earth desolate in my esteem, and raised my affections from things below to things above, where Christ and the spirits of just men made perfect are. In my mourning I was made to bless the Lord, who had put an end to the sufferings of His faithful servant, and to submit to His will who had said, 'He that will be my servant, let him follow me; and where I am there shall my servant be.' I remembered, to my comfort, how this blessed man, the last day I saw him, kindly embraced me, and, rejoicing in spirit, said to me, 'You and I shall be together with the Lord for ever.'" She refers to a visit which her husband and she paid him the month following his return to Kiltearn, when, as she tells us, she received the impression that "he was near the end of his journey, by his spirit being transported with the hopes of glory, and his bodily health and strength failed." "That night," she adds, "being the last night I was in his house, my sleep departed from me; upon which I rose at three o'clock in the morning, and had two hours of sweet communion with God in prayer. After that time I did not see this blessed man's face any more. He being very sick that morning, and not

fit for speaking, my husband and I left him. I then looked on what was given me that morning as given me to prepare for his death. The day before he died, my thoughts were taken up with him; and these words in Job were brought to my mind in relation to him, 'that he should go to his grave in a full age, as a shock of corn cometh in, in his season,' which was quickly fulfilled. Having served God in his generation, he went to his grave in peace, and pleasantly gave up the ghost. Though he endured much pain in his body before, yet at the hour of his death he had ease, and went out of the world praising and rejoicing." It was a peculiarly tender tie that bound these two pure and lofty spirits. "I cannot forget him who was the Bridegroom's friend," says Mrs Campbell, "who, when I was lying in my blood, told me of my hazard, and where there was help for me; and, with the authority of his Master, charged me not to delay, showing me that delays, in a matter of so great importance, came from the devil. He preached Christ and conversion to me in private conference, which had blessed effects upon me. When under the greatest trouble I ever felt with respect to the case of my soul, in March 1677, he being then a prisoner at Forres I went to speak to him, (this was when he delivered himself up to the Earl of Moray, and immediately before his first imprisonment in the Bass,) I was like one dumb, and could not utter one word of my case to him; yet he spake to me as if I had told him of it, and said when I parted with him, 'Fear not, ye seek Jesus.' Which word begot some hope in me, which did not altogether leave me until I got the manifestation of Christ to my soul, which was within six weeks afterwards."

Unlike Fraser of Brea and others of his contemporaries, Thomas Hogg left no writings behind him to help us in forming an estimate of his calibre and character. A few letters of his appear to have been preserved for a time, but they have long ago been lost. All we have to proceed upon are the outstanding facts of his life, one or two of his sayings that have been recorded, a few incidental references occurring in the journals of such friends as Brodie of Brodie and Mrs Campbell, and the slender contributions to his biography made by his successor, Mr William Stuart, and by Hog of Carnock. These, however, combine to give us the idea of a large and grand personality, which made a powerful and permanent impression on the community in which he moved. He appears to have been regarded by all who knew him with peculiar veneration. Wodrow reflects the impression which his generation received from that immediately preceding it, when he calls him "that great, and, I had almost said, apostolical servant of Christ, Thomas Hogg."* What was the secret of his influence, and where did it lie? As natural elements of character, there were evidently clear perception and quick decision, force and firmness and tenacity of purpose; that instinctive sense of dignity and power which manifests itself as unconscious authority, and may easily degenerate into imperiousness; and that subtle personal influence which almost always betokens a large, generous heart, and great capacity of sympathy. But, above all, his influence lay in the high spiritual tone which grace imparted to his character. It lay in his elevation of soul, as a man who habitually lived in the element of prayer

* Wodrow's Correspondence, Vol. i., p. 166.

and close communion with the Lord, in the sanctity of his life, as one who had been purified in the furnace of affliction, and in the unbending uprightness and thorough conscientiousness with which he was enabled to bear, in the most testing of all circumstances, decided and consistent testimony to the truth which he believed. His was a faith that could stand the severest strain of persecution, as his life abundantly proved, while it burned with an intense heat of spiritual affection for its divine object. James Calder of Croy writes, 15th March 1768:—"Mr Thomas Hogg said to my grandmother (Mrs Campbell, Torrich), 'If there was a drawn sword pointed to my breast, and Christ at the other end of it, if I had no other way to be at Him and with Him, I would run myself upon it to be at Him and with Him for ever; for He is my life, my heaven, and my all.'" Without doubt Mr Hogg spoke as he felt, and as he was prepared to act. And yet the man was no fanatic, of mind as narrow as it was intense. He could take broader views than most of his contemporaries of those burning questions of the day about which men became so hot and keen; and he was far from being an extreme man. He came to definite and fixed conclusions regarding those questions for himself, and he rigorously acted out these conclusions in his practice; but he could be largely tolerant of the convictions of those who conscientiously differed from him, as long as they did not surrender what he reckoned essential and fundamental. He had no toleration, it is true, for anything that looked like trimming, or shuffling, or bowing to expediency. He adhered in his judgment to the Protestors, as we have seen, but he was far from going to the extreme of thinking that

the differences between them and the Resolutioners ought to interrupt friendly intercourse. He condemned the indulgences granted to Presbyterians by Charles II.; but while he held that those who rejected them, and continued to preach in the fields at the hazard of their lives, acted a more upright and honourable part than those who accepted them, he deprecated separation from the latter. He warmly sympathised with the Covenanters of the West, but he did not approve of their exclusiveness in refusing to hear any but Cargill and Renwick. Nor did he ever take up the position that the sword was a legitimate weapon in the Christian's hand for defending the liberties of Christ's kingdom against the encroachments of civil government. He acquiesced in the exclusion of James from the throne; but, I take it, it was on the ground that he had forfeited his right to it by violating the fundamental articles of the Constitution. For himself as a minister of the Gospel, Thomas Hogg was prepared to act on the principle of refusing obedience to every command of the magistrate that trenched on his liberty of conscience, and at the same time submitting, under protest, to the penalty which the magistrate might inflict for disobedience. On this principle he acted when, as you remember, he would "neither flee nor lurk," but allowed himself to be apprehended by the Earl of Moray. This practical principle gives the key to that saying of his, which throws such a flood of light on the melancholy condition of our country in those days—"A prison is the only safe place for a man's conscience in Scotland."*

But that which specially distinguished this sainted man, and secured for him the veneration of the godly,

* Brodie Diary.

was his singular skill as a spiritual director. The depth, fulness, and maturity of his own experience, and the rare gift of spiritual discernment with which he was endowed, qualified him, as few have been qualified, for guiding the conscience and the heart in perplexity, and doubt, and darkness. There was no worldly inducement to make a profession of godliness in those days. It brought men neither gain nor favour, but it exposed to much obloquy and suffering. All the more was it a reality on the part of the few who witnessed for the Lord, and all the more were they solicitous that it should prove a reality. They were jealous of themselves lest they should put fancy in the place of faith, and come to conclusions regarding their own condition which were not warranted by the full testimony of the Word of God. It was their practical belief that the heart is depraved, and that the devil, the world, and the flesh, are ever active in their hostility to the new man created in Christ Jesus. They had no conception that the experience of the Seventh chapter of the Epistle to the Romans was characteristic only of the embryo stage of spiritual life, or of a season of backsliding. They were no strangers to the experience of the Eighth chapter, as we may have learned even from these pages; but they found that that of the Sixth and Seventh ran parallel with it, or rather interlaced it. The Christian life was to them a literal struggle and conflict. They had to fight the good fight of faith, and hence they felt it necessary to look to their weapons, and carefully to examine their armour. They were much given to introspection, and self-questioning, and analysis of frames and feelings; too much so, perhaps, if they had not had the sharp discipline

of persecution to keep them looking out at the same time to a crucified Saviour. But be that as it may, the complexion of their spiritual history, their isolation, and the other practical difficulties of their position, taught the devout of those days to settle a value on the counsels of such experienced saints as the minister of Kiltearn, which some of us, in our different circumstances, might think exaggerated. Many resorted to Mr Hogg for spiritual guidance, and greatly were these interviews prized. Hear Mrs Campbell, on whose diary we have already drawn so largely:—"The tongue of the learned was given him, to speak a word in season to the weary. He had the heart of the wise, which taught his mouth, and added learning to his lips. He gave reproofs of instruction, which, by his Master's blessing, were the way of life. He walked so with God that his conversation shone to the glory of his Heavenly Father. He had a large measure of the Spirit of God, by which he knew the deep things of God; and it was given him to know the mysteries of the kingdom of God. He had a divine experimental understanding of the Scriptures, of the work of conversion, and cases of conscience, so that they whose ears heard him blessed him. He was a Caleb, indeed, who followed the Lord fully in his ministry, in prison, in banishment, in strange lands, and unto death. Even the haters of godliness were forced to own that God was in him of a truth, and that he kept his integrity." We are not to suppose that Mr Hogg put these inquirers off with general directions and indiscriminate consolations. He searched and probed them, distinguishing between morbid feeling and the exercises of grace, and hesitating not to reprove when he found

self indulged in the garb of godliness. When Mrs Campbell met him at Muirtown, on his way to Kiltearn, she wished to know his thoughts concerning her spiritual state, and to tell him some of her secret troubles, with respect to which she could not attain to submission; but she gives us to understand that he was displeased with her inquiry, and refused to gratify it; while, as to her troubles, he told her point-blank that her want of submission proceeded from the pride and stubbornness of her spirit. Then, when she informed him, at a subsequent interview, that she had attained to a submissive state of mind through the goodness of God towards her, but that she feared that some sharp trial was awaiting her, for which this submissive temper was a preparation, and which would test its reality, he disapproved of her giving place to such thoughts, "charging her with authority, as well as in much love, to beware of anxious thoughts about the morrow, and earnestly urging her to a confident and consistent trusting in God, quoting the words of Job, 'Though he slay me, yet will I trust in him.' 'Thus,' says she, 'did the blessed man press me to live the life of faith, and,' she adds, 'took leave of me, embracing me as a father does his child.'"* Well might she say of him, as she does in another place:—"His reproof had been a kindness to me, and his smiting an excellent oil that did not break my head." How long this excellent lady survived her revered

* Anderson's Ladies of the Covenant.

Thomas Hogg died childless. His friend Nimmo writes:—"Albeit the Lord gave him no children, yet the Lord once gave him powerfully that Scripture, and fulfilled it to him, 'I will give thee a name better than of sons and daughters,' making him the instrument of begetting many sons and daughters to the Lord."

friend and instructor, I have, at present, no definite information. This, however we do know, that she lived to see the pulpits of the parishes around her filled by Presbyterian ministers, though she did not always find comfort in their ministrations. For a considerable time she was in a low and desponding state of mind, in which she was kept from despairing, she tells us, by clinging, as a poor helpless sinner, to such radical statements of the simple Gospel as these:—"I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance"—"Look unto me, all ye ends of the earth, and be ye saved"—"The whole need not a physician, but they that are sick." Afterwards, as her grandson Mr James Calder of Croy, tells us, on the authority of her faithful Jane Taylor, who resided with her from the end of the Persecution till her decease, "she attained to very great stability with respect to the state of her soul, and to a glorious sunshine of spiritual comfort and joy in the Lord for some years before her death." To use her own language about Mr Hogg, she "went out of the world praising and rejoicing." I cannot refrain from quoting the words in which her grandson describes her departure:—"Having spoken a sentence or two in the language of a triumphant faith, with eyes lifted up to heaven, and arms stretched out, this heaven-born soul quitted its cottage of clay with a smile, and sprang forward to meet her celestial Bridegroom, who was now come to receive her into the beatific embracements of His everlasting love."*

After the death of her sainted mistress, Jane Taylor took up her abode at *Cnoc-na-Caoraich*, a hamlet in the vicinity of Cawdor Castle, where she lived to a

* Religious Monitor, quoted by Anderson in Ladies of the Covenant.

good old age, held in high esteem as an eminent Christian. Describing a fellowship-meeting in his Church of Croy, Mr James Calder says:—"We had the great pleasure and benefit of Donald M'Adam's company and fellowship, one of my father's disciples (his father was minister of Cawdor), and the most eminent saint, except Jane Taylor, I ever knew."* From anecdotes I have heard of her, she would appear to have been a woman of marked individuality of character. It is interesting to know that William Balloch and she spent the evening of life in each other's society, having become husband and wife after both had passed their meridian. Both died at Cawdor, Jane Taylor surviving her husband by a few years.†

Hugh Anderson appears to have continued to reside in Cromarty for some years after his ejection from the charge, probably till after the Obsdale Communion, when he found it necessary to retire to Udol. Strange to say he was permitted to live there unmolested through the long years of the Persecution; an immunity from suffering which he owed to the powerful friendship of the Earl of Seaforth, and probably, in some measure, to his own caution in refraining from preaching at field conventicles. We meet with him occasionally at Brodie Castle on his way to, and from, Aberdeen, with the University of which city he was intimately con-

* Diary of James Calder, p. 40.

† An old chest, known to have been in the possession of William Balloch, was exposed for sale some time ago at Cawdor. It contained a few old books and other articles, said to have belonged to Thomas Hogg. They have unfortunately been lost sight of. My venerable and esteemed friend, Mr Charles M'Arthur, Broomhill, Cawdor, has in his possession an old bridle on which he sets some value. It was once the property of Thomas Hogg. Another of Mr M'Arthur's possessions has attracted towards him a shower of letters, with tempting inducements to part with it—a copy of the "Breeches Bible," in splendid condition. (1875).

nected. Previous to his settlement in Cromarty, he was one of the Regents or Professors of King's College, and Grizzel Row, daughter of the Principal, and great-grand-daughter of Row the Reformer, and contemporary of Knox, became his wife. Bernard Mackenzie, the prelatic minister of Cromarty, acted on the principle of being all things to all men—in a different way, however, from the Apostle,—and contrived to live on good terms with his parishioners, though there were many of them with whom he could not prevail to think well of his Church. But while all were kindly tolerant of the good-natured and accommodating curate, they gave their esteem and affection to the outed minister and his wife. They received them back with joy when the Revolution restored Mr Anderson to his benefice, putting their welcome into rude rhyme:—

"Good Mester Hugh
And Grizzie Row,
The happy crew,
You're welcome back again."

It was not to be expected that Master Bernard, with all his desire to make himself agreeable to his neighbours, could cordially acquiesce in this arrangement. He tried to prevent its being carried into effect, by taking the oath of allegiance to King William—a condition on which the Statesmen of the Revolution, with questionable wisdom, permitted the prelatic clergy to continue, under the new Constitution, in the charges which they occupied. The Act of Parliament restoring the surviving members of the band ejected in 1662 —they were but a small remnant now,—gave Mr Anderson a preferable claim, however, and the poor curate was obliged to retire. I learn from the Fasti

Eccl. Scot., that he was intruded at Tranent in 1691, but was ordered by Parliament, on the 9th of July 1695, to remove out of the Presbytery of Haddington by the following August. Mr Anderson survived his restoration fourteen years, and was senior minister on the roll when the Presbytery of Ross was reconstituted in April 1693. He died at the ripe age of seventy-four, leaving behind him two sons, Hugh and Alexander, who became ministers of Drainie and Duffus, parishes in the Presbytery of Elgin; and a daughter, Grizzel or Grace, who married Mr Crombie, a merchant in Elgin. The Crombies—both husband and wife—were zealous Covenanters, and suffered persecution for their fidelity. Mr Crombie was at one time obliged to flee to the Reay country—I presume in 1685, when the Commission of the Privy Council sat in Elgin. A daughter of this worthy couple, also named Grizzel or Grace, was noted in her day as an eminent Christian, full of faith and good works. Mr Porteous of Kilmuir* held her in high esteem. This worthy minister was an enthusiastic gardener as well as an excellent preacher. He took great delight in the cultivation of fruit trees, and it was one of his fancies to imagine himself surrounded in his garden by the people whom he loved; each tree representing a friend, according as the qualities of the plant suggested those of the person. One apple-tree, of dwarfish size and crooked stem, which never failed to yield an abundant crop, he named Grace Crombie, in allusion to his friend being rich in children and good works, while she was somewhat short and deformed in person—the result of an accident in early childhood. "I had this account," says her grandson, the late Rev.

* See page 60.

David Mackenzie of Farr, "from my father and uncle, and also corroborated by the late Rev. John Matheson of Kilmuir, successor to Mr Porteous." Mr Mackenzie adds:—"When Grace Crombie died Mr Porteous came to see her remains, and walking in the room he said, 'I do not know which is more my duty to weep or to rejoice.' This I heard from my father who was present."*

The parish of Kinloss enjoyed the ministry of its venerable pastor, James Urquhart, for five years after the Revolution. In 1695 he was translated to Urquhart, where he officiated till 1701; his son John being associated with him as colleague. George Meldrum of Crombie did not long survive his restoration to Glass. He died in November 1692. John M'Culloch of Ardersier seems to have left the North when ejected in 1662. We lose sight of him till restored by the Act of 1690. His second incumbency was very short. As he was unable through age and sickness to exercise his ministry, he demitted his charge and retired to Edinburgh, where he seems to have lived in very indigent circumstances. The General Assembly of 1704 recommended him to the several Presbyteries for aid, but as far as we know, the Kirk-Session of Salton was the only body that responded. He died in December 1705. Two others, who were fellow-prisoners in the Bass, became ministers of charges in the Province of Moray after the Revolution, John Stewart and Alexander Dunbar; the former of Urquhart and the latter of Auldearn. Stewart died in 1692, and Dunbar in 1707, after an illness of three years. His life and ministry in Auldearn were in thorough consistency with the tes-

* MS. Account of his family, by Rev D. Mackenzie of Farr.

timony which he bore for the truth in imprisonment and in bonds. Sir Hugh Campbell of Cawdor refers to him in his book on the Lord's Prayer, as "the holy Mr Alexander Dunbar, minister of Auldearn."

The close of the career of another Northern Worthy on whose history we have touched in these sketches, calls for a few sentences in this our last word. We saw that James Fraser of Brea retired to England on his release from Blackness Castle. Having refused to take one of those oaths of comprehensive, and, at the same time, minute abjuration, which the Governments of the day were such adepts in manufacturing and using as tests of loyalty, an opportunity was afforded him, on English ground, of extending his acquaintance with prison life. He found a Newgate cell an abode of comfort compared with the yards and dungeons of the State-prisons of Scotland. After the Revolution, he became minister of Culross, not without opposition on the part of the Jacobite Magistrates of the little burgh. His heart, however, was in his native Highlands. We find him preaching at Inverness for a considerable time, and receiving a call to the Second Charge in September 1696. The Magistrates of the Highland capital were as staunch Jacobites as those of Culross, and apparently more resolute in their support of Episcopacy. On the death, in 1691, of Gilbert Marshall, who was minister at the Revolution, they prohibited a vacancy to be declared, and surrounded the church with an armed guard that no minister might enter, and when Forbes of Culloden sought to have the doors opened, he was thrust back and struck with violence. Representations having been made to the Privy Council, Lord Leven's regiment was ordered to the North to

protect the friends of the Government and of the Presbyterian Establishment; but though the military "made patent doors," no minister was admitted for ten years. Several were called and regularly appointed during that time, but owing to the hostility of the Magistrates and apparently of the majority of the people, none of them could get possession of the church. This was Fraser's case, and he returned to Culross.* Not long after, he died at Edinburgh on the 13th of September 1698, at the comparatively early age of fifty-nine, his constitution having been undermined by the hardships to which he had been subjected. Death did not find him unprepared. In the promises of the Gospel—the engrossing theme of his private meditations and public ministry—he found ample support in his last hours; and he departed with these words upon his lips:—"I am full of the consolations of Christ." In his case, as in that of so many of the worthies whose faithfulness in witness-bearing we have seen attested by suffering; the faith that enabled him to endure unto the end, enabled him in the end to triumph in an abundant victory through Him that loved him.†

The conflict in which these Christian heroes bore their part came to an end for them in the ascension of William and Mary. The Covenant triumphed in the Revolution Settlement. It was an undoubted triumph, and yet we cannot say it was complete. It was a real

* Shaw's History. Fasti Eccl. Scot,

† Fraser of Brea had three children—a boy who died in infancy, and two daughters, both of whom he mentions as being alive when he wrote his memoirs, which must have been as late as 1684. Shaw, the historian of Moray, writes in his Appendix to Hew Rose's Account of the Family of Kilravock, in reference to Hugh the Fifteenth Baron:—"Kilravock's second lady was Jane Fraser, only child of Mr James Fraser of Brea. He married this lady in the year , and she died in the year 1699, leaving only one

settlement, but not so thorough as it ought to have been, and as men imagined it was. The evil against which the Covenanters contended was indeed overthrown, but it was not eradicated. In the very act of annulling the encroachments of the previous *regime*, the Government of the Revolution Settlement trenched upon the province of the Church. In establishing the Church as free the State did not consistently respect her freedom. The rank growth of Cæsarism, Erastianism, Supremacy of the Civil Magistrate in spiritual things, or whatever else we may call that usurpation of the lordship of the conscience, and headship of the Church, against which those noble confessors protested so energetically, was indeed cut down, and swept away, and the ground cleared, but unfortunately the roots were not grubbed up. The reclaimed land was ploughed, and tilled and sown, and the good seed soon came up in a luxuriant crop of waving corn, but the hidden roots of bitterness came up also in thorns and briers. In varying forms, according to the changing aspects of the times, the radical evil has broken out again and again in the history of our Church, though never with such virulence as in that bloody conflict,—and men zealous for their freedom to serve the Lord according to His own will, have had to contend against it

surviving child, viz., Mr James Rose, now of Brea, Commissary of Inverness, and Sheriff-Substitute of the County of Nairn, who, in the year 17 , married Margaret Rose, daughter of John Rose of Broadley."—Kilravock Papers, p. 382.

Above, at page 112, Mr Fraser of Brea is represented as sharing Thomas Hogg's sentiments with respect to the unlawfulness of hearing the curates. Among the MSS. which he left behind him is one under the title, "An Argument showing that by the Covenant we are bound not to hear Conform Ministers." Another Work of his, entitled, "The Lawfulness and Duty of Separation from corrupt Ministers and Churches," was published in 1744.

down to the present day. Can we say that the conflict is now at an end, and the fruits of victory secured? No, that hour of triumph has not yet come, though, I believe we are marching towards it. Meantime, let us guard with watchful care the heritage of freedom which our Covenanting forefathers bequeathed to us at the cost of so much suffering, so much blood: and let us approve ourselves their true representatives by worthily cultivating that heritage, developing, yet farther and farther, the rights they have made good for us, and fighting out their battles to its issues, beyond what was given them to accomplish, to foresee, or even to conceive. Let us, like them, rise above the visible, the material, and realise the Unseen. Let us, like them, place the converse of the spirit with God above all considerations of material comfort and security. Let us, like them, realise the immediate rule of God as Lord of the conscience and the heart—living to Him, walking with Him, fearing His name. Let us imitate their fidelity and emulate their steadfastness. They have been called fanatics, and I doubt not they were austere, narrow, rigid in respect of some things, but they were true patriots and God-fearing men, who could sacrifice everything, even life itself, to a good conscience and the approval of their Lord. In this let us follow their example, fighting our battle as they fought theirs. Would that the heart of the fathers was turned to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers!

I have now brought my imperfect sketch to a close. I cannot say that I have finished it, but anyhow I must be done with it. I have endeavoured to show that our northern Province did bear an honourable

part in the heroic contest of the seventeenth century, to which we owe our liberties, though it cannot be said that the fiercest struggle of the war was fought out upon its soil. In comparison with the West and the South, the North suffered little in the days of the Persecution, but that little was by no means inconsiderable. I am not sure, indeed, but our district endured more for the Covenant in the days of the Covenant's ascendancy than it did in "the wild killing times" when it was driven to bay at Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge, at Rullion Green and Airsmoss. In Moray, lives were sacrificed for the Covenant, not so much, when the lonely moorlands of Ayrshire, and the far-stretching sands of the Solway were gathering their tragic associations, as when the gallant marauder, Montrose, was striving by sudden surprises and dashing marches, in and out of the Grampians, to recover the crown for the first Charles. Our only martyr graves are in the choir of the old Church of Auldearn, and they are the tombs of men who, "for the Covenant, fighting fell," while "the Tables" were still the *de facto* Government of Scotland. No Guthrie, or M'Kail, or Renwick, or Cargill, testified unto death on our Moray sea-board, but there were men in Moray then, albeit they were not many, who could die for their principles as well as they—men who proved by their heroic endurance of a living martyrdom worse than death, that they could sacrifice everything to their allegiance to Christ and His cause. The footsteps of these Christian heroes I have sought to trace. Let us cherish their memories as the noblest heritage of our Northern land.

> "Patriots have toiled, and in their country's cause
> Bled nobly; and their deeds, as they deserve,

Receive proud recompense.
But fairer wreaths are due, though never paid
To those, who, posted at the Shrine of Truth,
Have fallen in her defence. A patriot's blood
Well spent in such a strife, may earn indeed,
And for a time ensure, to his loved land
The sweets of liberty and equal laws :
But Martyrs struggle for a brighter prize
And win it with more pain. Their blood is shed
In confirmation of the noblest claim,
Our claim to feed upon immortal truth,
To walk with God, to be divinely free,
To soar, and to anticipate the skies,
Yet few remember them."

APPENDIX.

NOTE A.—PAGE 3.

BURNING OF THE CLAVIE.

"A CURIOUS remnant of Pagan superstition exists here, not to be found in any other part of the country, viz., the Burning of the Clavie. This consists of filling a barrel with chips of wood and tar, with other combustibles, on the last day of the year, old style; carrying it on men's shoulders from one end of the town to the other; then placing the barrel on an eminence called the Durie, where it is allowed to burn for a certain time, when the burning embers are scattered, eagerly gathered by the persons present, and carried home. It is supposed that on the successful carrying out of this fire, the prosperity of the town for the subsequent year depends. The superstition is wearing out. Formerly the fire-barrel used to be carried round the boats and ships in the harbour, that a blessing might rest on them also; but this part of the ceremony is now given up."—Young's *Notes on Burghead*, p. 19; also Macdonald's *Essay*, p. 41; and Chambers' *Book of Days*, Vol. ii., p. 789.

NOTE B.—PAGE 43.

THE Covenanting General himself has been suspected of treachery—not without grounds. "General Hurry," says

the Ardintoul MSS.—a Genealogical Account of the Clan Mackenzie—"sent for Seaforth to Inverness, and during a long conference informed him that although he served the States himself he favoured the King's cause, and advised Seaforth to dismiss his men and make a pretence that he had only sent for them to give them new leases of their lands, and in case it was necessary to make an appearance to fight Montrose, he could bring, when commanded to do so, two or three companies from Chanonry and Ardmeanach, which he would accept. It was, however, late before they parted, and Lady Seaforth, who was waiting for her Lord at Kessock, prepared a sumptuous supper for Seaforth and his friends. He and his friends kept up the festivities so long and so well that he "forgot or delayed to advertise his men to dismiss till to-morrow," and going to bed very late, before he could stir in the morning all the lairds and gentlemen of Moray came to him, most earnestly entreating his lordship by all the laws of friendship and good neighbourhood, and for the kindness they had for him while he lived among them, and which they manifested to his brother yet living amongst them, that his lordship would not see them ruined and destroyed by Montrose and the Irish, when he might easily prevent the same without the least loss to himself and his men; assuring his lordship that if he should join Hurry with what forces he had then under his command, Montrose would make off with his Irish and not fight them. Seaforth, believing the gentlemen, and thinking, as they said, that Montrose with so small a number would not venture to fight, the rest being twice the number and many of them trained soldiers. Hurry acquainted him that he was to march immediately against Montrose, and being of an easy and compassionate nature, he yielded to their request, and sent immediately in all haste for his Highlandmen, crossed the ferry of Kessock and marched straight with the rest of the forces to Auldearn, where Montrose had his camp; but the Moray men found themselves mistaken in thinking that he (Montrose) would make off, for he was not only resolved but glad of the opportunity to fight them before Baillie, whom he knew was on his march North with considerable forces, could join Hurry,

and so drawing up his men with great advantage of ground, he placed Alexander Macdonald, with the Irish, on the right wing beneath the village of Auldearn and Lord Gordon with the horse on the left. On the South side of Auldearn, he himself biding in town, and making a show of a main battle with a few men, which Hurry understanding, and making it his business that Montrose should carry the victory, and that Seaforth would come off without great loss, set his men, who were more than double the number of their adversaries, to Montrose's advantage, for he placed Sutherland, Lovat's men, and some others with the horse under Drummond's command, on the right wing opposite to my Lord Gordon, and Loudon and Laurie's Regiments, with some others, on the left wing, opposite to Alexander Macdonald and the Irish, and placed Seaforth's men for the most in the midst opposite Montrose, where he knew they could not get hurt till the wings were engaged. Seaforth's men were commanded to retire, and make off before they had occasion or command to fight; but the men, hovering and not understanding the mystery, were commanded again to make off and follow Drummond with the horse, who gave only one charge to the enemy and then fled, which they did by leaving both the wings and some of their own men to the brunt of the enemy, because their own men stood at a distance from them, the right wing being sore put to it by my Lord Gordon, and seeing Drummond with the horse and their neighbours fly, they began to follow, while Sutherland and Lovat suffered great loss, while on the left wing, Loudon's Regiment and Laurie with his Regiment were both totally cut off betwixt the Irish and the Gordon's who came to assist them after Sutherland's and Lovat's men were defeated. Seaforth's men got no hurt in the pursuit nor did they loose many men in the fight, the most considerable being John Mackenzie of Kernsary, cousin-german to the Earl, and Donald Bain, brother to Tulloch and Chamberlain to Seaforth in the Lewis, both being heavy and corpulent men not fit to fly, and being partly deceived by Seaforth's principal ensign or standard-bearer in the field, who stood to it with some others of the Lochbroom and Lewis men, till they were killed, and likewise Captain Bernard Mackenzie, with the rest of his

company, which consisted of Chanonry men and some others thereabouts, being somewhat of a distance from the rest of Seaforth's men, were killed upon the spot. There were only four Kintail men who might make their escape with the rest if they had looked rightly to themselves, namely, the Bannerman of Kintail, called Rory Mac Ian Dhomh'uill Bhàin, *alias* Maclennan, who out of foolhardiness and indignation to see that banner, which had wont to be victorious, fly in his hands, fastens the staff of it in the ground, and stands to it with his two-handed sword drawn, and would not accept of quarter, though tendered to him by my Lord Gordon in person, nor would he suffer any to approach him to take him alive, as the gentlemen beholders wished, so that they were forced to shoot him. The other three were Donald, the bannerman's brother, Malcolm Macrae and Duncan Mac Ian Oig. Seaforth and his men, with Colonel Hurry and the rest came back that night to Inverness, all the men laying the blame of the loss of the day upon Drummond, who commanded the horse and fled away with them, for which, by a Council of War, he was sentenced to die; but Hurry assuring him that he would get him absolved, though at the very time of execution he made him keep silence, but when Drummond was like to speak he caused him to be shot suddenly, fearing, as was thought, that he would reveal that what was acted was by Hurry's own directions. This account of the Battle of Auldearn, I had from an honourable gentleman and experienced soldier, as we were riding by Auldearn, who was present from first to last at this action, and who asked Hurry, who set the battle with such advantage to Montrose and to the inevitable loss and overthrow of his own side? to whom Hurry, being confident of the gentleman, said:—"I know what I am doing, we shall have bye and bye excellent sport between the Irish and the States Regiments, and I shall carry off Seaforth's men without loss." The Author of the "History of the Mackenzie's," *quoting the above, adds—"That Hurry was more for Montrose than for the States that day is very probable, because, shortly after, when he found opportunity, he quitted

* History of the Mackenzies, by Alexander Mackenzie, Inverness, 1879. p. 187.

the States service, and is reckoned as the first of Montrose's friends who, in August next year, embarked with Montrose to get off the nation, and returned with him again in his second expedition to Scotland, and was taken prisoner at Craigchonachan, and sent south, and publicly executed with Montrose as guilty of the same fault."

NOTE C.—PAGE 45.

SEAFORTH'S COVENANT.

SEAFORTH even tried his hand on a Covenant of his own. It consisted of seven articles, the first of which contained an invitation to the king to come to Scotland. It was presented to the Committee of Estates in March 1646. The Commission of the General Assembly emitted a declaration against it on the 30th of the same month. "Meanwhile, Seaforth had an army of five thousand for to effectuate the ends contained in his Remonstrance." On the 13th of June following, the General Assembly passed an ordinance for excommunication of the Earl of Seaforth, not only for having himself subscribed, but for having seduced and threatened others to subscribe, "that perfidious band made and contrived in the North, under the name of 'An humble Remonstrance against our National Covenant, and the League and Covenant of the three Kingdoms;' boasting also the pursuance of that his Remonstrance against all deadly the opposers thereof, whether King or Parliament."—Row's *Life of Blair;* Peterkin's *Records of the Kirk;* Brodie *Diary.*

NOTE D.—PAGE 45.

THE STRONG HOUSE OF LETHEN.

EXTRACT of Letter from Brodie to Mr Robert Douglas of Edinburgh, dated Inverness, 10th March, 1646:—"I must lykwys let you know a passage off the Gordouns expedition;

they and Huntly hav bein now 13 weeks in Murray, and hav left neither to eat, nor sow, nor plogh in many places, wher they reaceau'd not obedience. Their wholl tym and pains was taken up with beseidging the hous of Leathin, belonging to ane uncl of myne, quher (except myself and very few more, for the garison of Inverness call'd me heire to attend them, although truly I am litl profitabl in any place of the world), ther I say all my friends were taking shelter. When all the amunition was spent, and noe hop of relief (although often was the armie advertiz'd and requir'd), at last having kill'd many of the enemie in severall assults, they were forc'd to come vndr parlie and surrender. Upon a band off money to be pay'd to the Lord Huntly, in cace he conform'd not to his Majestie's service, the Lard was restored to his hous and all that is in it, and has sinc that tyme furnish'd and fortified himself for a longer seidg, if God be with him. Now in this parlie, Mr Joseph Brodie my uncl, throgh the vehement importunitie, and the pressing necessati off the poor beseidg'd people, was employ'd to mak such conditions with the enemie as might consist with a good conscienc and the Covenant, they hoping that he also might attain them better conditions then any other. Now as himself as wrytten to you, we desyr to know what your judgment is anent the capitulation, and Mr Joseph's communing with the enemie. In truth, I doe confess, although the Lord humbl'd them in bringing them to that extremitie (which nothing else could perswad them to), yet they being free of engadgment, or the least concurrance with the enemie in their purposes, I cannot censure the act in such a cace as this. Your opinion will much satisfie both him and them. I know, however, you will put a favourabl construction on it, for I will be bold to saye ther was never man more avers from them, or their wayes, or had less favour of them than he and we all have."

The House of Lethen was built about 1613 by Grant of Freuchie, who purchased the estate from the Falconars of Hawkerton, and sold it, about 1622, to Alexander Brodie. It seems to have been one of the strongest places in the Province, but its strength was anything but a benefit to the proprietor. It was constantly garrisoned by one party or

other, and frequently besieged. The garrisons thrust upon him seem almost to have elbowed the poor Laird out of his own house. Sir John Leslie, who held a command in the North after the Revolution, writes to Sir Hugh Campbell of Cawdor in reference to the garrison of Lethen:—"I have received yours by Captain Burgey, and wondered to understand by it that the Commissioners should be unwilling to furnish for the garrison. . . . . I never did design to turn the gentleman out of his house, or to do him any damage, but to be assistant to the country, and they lie within so good walls, that they cannot be surprised or taken before I relieve them.—Inverness, 5 January 1650."—*The Book of the Thanes of Cawdor.* Spalding Club.

NOTE E—PAGE 73.

BRODIE ON THE CONSECRATION OF THE BISHOPS.

THE following extracts from the Brodie Diary, in reference to the establishment of Episcopacy and the consecration of the bishops, may interest the reader:—"*11th Nov. 1661* (London).—I heard Mr Sharp and Leighton were re-ordained, and scrupled at nothing. It is a difficulty in these times to know wherein true sound worship and godliness does consist: men ready to use their liberty for the hurt and destruction of others, and as a stumbling-block to many. *27th Nov.*—I met with Mr Leighton, and anent his undertaking did express myself freely to him. He showed that he retained the same tenderness and bowels towards those that feared God. I desired him to use his liberty not to stumble, but to edify others, and not to use his liberty to please himself, but rather others in the Lord. . . . . I desired him to use his credit, that the ceremonies might not be brought in upon us. He said he wished so, but he hoped they should be pressed on none. Alas? after introducing, force will soon ensue. But, good man, he does not perceive or suspect it. I desired himself also to use his credit with his colleagues and the

king. *29th Nov.*—I did speak with Sharp, Fairfall, and Hamilton, and did perceive they were inclined to press the ceremonies. I said that we were well before the year 1633. *14th Dec.*—I had some meditation of the bishops which were to be consecrat the next day, and read 1 Cor. xii., the offices which God hath appointed in His house, and could not find this office, as it is administered, comprehended in any of these. *15th Dec.*—Die Dom (Lord's day). I desired to exercise my soul with fasting in this day of their feasting and consecration. It might be a day of sorrow to them for whom this day's solemnities are appointed. We declare this day that the name of God was taken in vain, that we swore falsely in the Lord's name. We are condemning all that we have been doing and endeavouring for reforming the house of God—reproaching and raising a slander on our mother Kirk of Scotland, her ministers, ordinances, officers, as if we had none and were no Church, but dwindle from this superstitious form, and they only were a true Church, and all other Churches had no power of their own officers, ministers, ordinances, order, government, and discipline. These men (our new bishops) are they which did renounce and abjure what now they take on them, and glory in. How shall they be believed next when they preach or when they swear?—they have dealt so falsely and perfidiously in this. Shall not both they and we mourn for this?" It did indeed prove a cause of mourning beyond what he anticipated.

NOTE F.—PAGE 86.

HUGH ROSE OF NAIRN ON PRAYER, ETC.

THE following Extracts from Mr Hugh Rose's "Meditations on Interesting Subjects," may not be unacceptable to the reader. The Meditation on Prayer is good throughout; the others, on God, Death, Hell, the Love of Christ, the Usefulness of Christ, the Soul going out of itself, Man's many Sinful Infirmities and Weaknesses, the Uncertainty of Human Speculations, etc. are not in any sense striking.

Of Prayer.

"Prayer is the soul's going to the Father through the Son. It is He that hath opened the shut and bolted door of access. He is the great master of requests, in whose hands we must put our petitions to be presented to the King. It is not permitted to sinners to go immediately to God, but by the intervening of the Mediator. Our sacrifices must be given to the High Priest, that he may offer them up to God. He must add His own incense; ours without Him would be but strange fire. . . . . Now then, O my soul, prayer being a speaking to the dreadful and holy God, it concerns thee to be very considerate when thou enterest upon this duty. Beware of irreverent rushing into the presence of the Almighty. Remember before whom thou art, and to whom thou art to speak. Remember who thyself the speaker is; dust and ashes speaking to the *lofty One that inhabiteth eternity*. . . . Wert thou speaking to an earthly monarch or prince, how reverently wouldst thou speak! how wouldst thou weigh thy words? how wouldst thou chuse and place them! thou wouldst take care to have them pertinent, and not frothy nor fleeting; thou wouldst have a great regard that they did not give offence, nor savour of irreverence or contempt; thou wouldst correct thy thoughts; stir up thy best judgment, and check a running tongue; thou wouldst use the most forcible arguments to obtain the grant and concession of thy suit; thou wouldst make the best interest thou couldst; thou wouldst labour to remove every rub and obstruction that might hinder thy petition; thou wouldst compose thy every gesture and deportment as became the greatness and splendour of the other party. . . . . And darest thou then draw near to the great God, the Sovereign of heaven and earth, in an abrupt, irreverent way? Dost thou not know that He sees thy heart and hears thy words? Dost thou not believe that He knows thy thoughts afar off; and that there is none of them hid from Him? He knows the ends and principles that lead thee, and whereupon thou walkest. . . . . O my soul, it is a necessary, and yet a most hardly obtained thing, to get a sense of God's greatness

and presence when we are in prayer. Alas! how dull, how senseless, how unconcerned are we, as if we were speaking to an idol that merited no regard, or were not conscious of our irreverence and vain-thoughtedness, so are we not affected. Did the bodily eye see God, it would strike us into fear and astonishment—but, alas! the eye of faith is wanting, whereby God is to be taken up. The eye of the understanding is darkened, and sees Him not. Oh! we are not serious in studying to know Him. From our unacquaintedness with God, it comes that we are so little affected with His presence. Persons fall into a formal way of praying, they rest upon an outward act, not studying to be single and spiritual; and therefore labour not to be abased before God, nor to have due apprehensions of His omnipresence imprinted on their hearts, when they go about this duty; and so their prayers prove but lip labour, a contemning and slighting, instead of honouring God. Therefore, that I may have always a due sense of God, awful apprehensions of that Being of beings upon my spirit before I pray, I must recollect my thoughts, and get myself into a frame of speaking to God. If I defer the putting on this frame till I enter upon the duty, I may miss it; it is not to be had easily and for the taking up. If my heart be at other times remote from God, it will not suddenly be got near to Him. If I learn not to keep my due distance with the world and vanity at other times, I will not then get my heart retired from them: my heart and they will clasp together, and the tender immoderate sense of them will keep out the sense of God: they will be in upon me when I am on my knees: when I would raise my heart to God, they will hale and pull it down. They will deaden my heart and render it as a senseless stone towards God. They will withdraw my thoughts and intentions within me; they will draw my heart away with them when my mouth speaks to God."

"I have been troubled at finding my heart straitened in prayer: but I have found the reason to be the loose keeping of it at other times. Can a heart that gets a sinful liberty be otherwise than withered and straitened; Can it be expected that it should be but dull and lumpish. . . . . Have not I been troubled and grieved that I should speak so troubled

and deathlike to the majesty of God; and in my searching after the cause of my failing, have I not found it to be the ill-ordering of my thoughts?

"A well-ordered heart and thoughts put a person ever in a ready frame to pray. To be much studying God in His word and works, is the way to habituate us into suitable apprehensions of God when we come to pray. It concerns me also before I enter upon the duty, to look for the Spirit of supplication. I know not how to pray, or what to pray for, but the Spirit of God can furnish me for all. It were presumption in me to attempt the duty in my own strength, who have none. . . . but the Spirit can quicken me, can afford love and delight, and kindle vigorous flaming desires in my soul after God, it can furnish me with matter and affection, it can make me speak in heavenly strains, it can make life and affection stream through all my petitions, it can form my supplications in a language well pleasing to God; the desire of a supplicant will be heard by God when it is of His own Spirit's dictating; my conceptions, without this, will be but empty; and if I have no other furniture than my own, my petition will be thrown over the bar.

"It concerns me also before I pray, to reflect upon what shall be the materials of my prayer. It ought not to be *quicquid in bucca venerit.* When we are to speak to God, we should premeditate what to speak to God. Oftentimes our case and prayers tryst not for neglect of this; and, alas! most pray without reference to their case but only for a fashion, and therefore if they acquit themselves of their form they never mind what is their condition. Let me resolve to be free from this error. If supplicants will premeditate their petitions to men, why should I not much more when I am to supplicate God Himself. The wants represented in human supplications, are of little importance besides these. It concerns me, therefore, to review and ponder what I am to speak before I enter. Let me read over the state of my soul and life. Find I sins, as daily I find new ones? Let me confess and seek mercy. Find I want of graces, and need of spiritual supplies? Let me seriously ask them. Find I mercies? Let me give thanks for

them. Am I troubled with temptations? Let me beg strength to resist them, Am I puzzled for want of clearness in a doubtful case? Let me seek clearness and unfolding. Find I any strong predominant corruption? Let me wrestle with God for mortification of it. Find I deadness, unbelief, or other spiritual distempers upon my spirit? Let me supplicate the removal. . . . I find my thoughts most unstable when I join with any other praying. When I express myself I am more intent. I find myself more apt to straying thoughts in private than public praying, wherein woeful self-seeking, and respect to others may have a hand. Where persons pray with a reference to God singly, they will be observant of their hearts no less in private than in public.

"I have found challenges, when I prayed for what, at other times, I minded not. I have often thought that prayer should impose an obligation upon our practice; that we should study to practise what we pray for; that we should resist and abstain from what we prayed against. Shall I now pray against a sin, and thereafter consent to it, or cast myself upon it? May not conscience put this challenge, Either thou wert not serious when thou didst pray against this, and if so, how dost thou counterfeit with God? and if thou wert serious, how comest thou now to act that which thou soughtest His help against? O that I may still practise with an eye upon my prayings, and pray with an eye upon my practice. Alas, how fickle and rotten-hearted am I. How can I confess, complain, and pray against a sin, and yet within a little while relapse into it? O how clearly do my prayers condemn my practice! how little agreement betwixt the two! They would appear the prayers and practice of different parties. It concerns me also to inquire anent the return of prayer. It is an absolute character of a formalist, not to inquire whether his petition is granted, yea or not. Supplicants among men will look to the deliverance and return of their petitions. They will inquire whether their suit be granted; and though at first they find them not taken notice of or rejected, yet the matter being of high and necessary importance, they will give in a new bill, and press the suit. God's people ought to examine carefully what they

seek; for if they be things disallowable, they carry a denial in themselves. Things temporal, mercies and comforts relative to the outward man, ought to be presented with a plenary submission to a grant or denial. Things tending to God's glory and our souls good are to be urged with persevering in petitioning. He may protract His grant because of some idol in our hearts; He may protract our suit to put us to more seriousness, and because we do not use other means for getting what we seek. He often grants His people's suit, though not in their latitude and terms; He often grants it in the equivalent. He can more advantage them by granting some other thing than by granting them what they seek. He often grants them patience and a sanctified improvement of the cross, and not the removal of the cross, which they desire. He gives return in what He sees for their good, and not in what is agreeable to their humour; and it is good for them He does so.

"To give them grace and faith, in a dependence on Him, to live in opposition to temptations, is a greater mercy than to remove the temptation presently: thereby He is more glorified, and they strengthened and quickened to their duty. Paul prayed thrice ere God held out that His grace was sufficient for him. This taught him an humble attendance on God, and a serious enforcing of his suit; and even before he had that return, that God's grace was sufficient for him, we find that God's grace proved sufficient for him, for the temptation troubled him, but did not overcome him. God may grant His people's prayers before He make out the grant to them; and the grant made to Paul's prayer was not the removing of the temptation which he sought, but that God's grace should be sufficient against it. He does not promise the removal of the enemy, but strength against him, whereby he needed not fear to be overcome. We should therefore examine the return of prayer, not by expecting immediately what we seek, but whether God be some one way or other providing for our mercy and good. What though temptations and crosses be not removed, yet are we getting faith, patience, submission, love to God, courage, fortitude, watchfulness, resistance, etc.? Are we losing our ground,

then? No. God hears our prayers. Does God strengthen and comfort us under our burdens, and in the wilderness? Though He leave us in the wilderness, yet are we not in the wilderness whilst He so deals with us, nor under our burdens whilst He makes them light and forgotten, by giving us strength under them, and diverting comforts which make us forget their weight. Do we find ourselves assisted to persevere in praying? Are we borne up with faith of obtaining? This is a return in itself, and promises a further obtaining hereafter. Does God keep praying persons from sinning deliberately? Does He enable them to glorify and serve Him? This speaks out that God hears their prayers, though the particular they demand be not obtained to their apprehension. And if thou findest that God has heard thy prayer, returning it unto thy bosom, and granted thy requests, fail not to thank Him who has granted thy suit freely, who hast kept thee, who art so sluggish in thyself, to constancy and diligence in waiting on Him. Let returns of prayers be registered as thankful remembrances; let them serve as encouragements against another time; let them serve as confirmations of thy faith, in the accomplishment of the promises to them that diligently seek the Lord."

Of Judgment.

"It is the glory of the king to search out a matter; and Jesus Christ will rip up the secretest of sins; sins never known to the world, sins that the world and a natural conscience took no notice of, will be then produced; the neat borrowed names will not bear out; pride will be pride, and covetousness covetousness, and not frugality. Deceit will not pass for prudence, nor passion for just indignation. Names, pretences, and excuses, will have no place; each thing will be itself for name, quality, and merit. The devil, whose artifices covered our faults with fig-tree leaves, will tear them off, and discover our nakedness. That which furthers his project now, will not be his study then. Here he minces sin to nothing; then will he magnify it to the utmost."

Judging by the following sentences from his "Meditation on the Uncertainty of Human Speculations," Master Hugh must have been of a speculative turn of mind :—"Love of philosophy, study of human things, have made me less studious of the Scripture and divine matters ; they have diverted my heart. What riches are to the covetous, and pleasures to the voluptuous, such have often been studies of that nature to me. They have enhanced my heart and time ; they have got in upon me when I should have been serious in duty to God. As they have been my delight, so I may say, that not seldom have they been my snare. I have longed impatiently, and been itchingly curious after the novel speculations of this luxuriant age ; to know the cause of this and the other secret in nature, to know this and the other man's opinion about it ; and though I never found satisfying solidity nor truth, yet the newness and wittiness have caught me."

Here is a vigorous protest against the dialectic subtleties in which the logicans of the day indulged :—"But to come nearer the proposed subject, and to show the emptiness of human speculations : Are not many of them such, in reference to the very objects they are conversant about ? How many schools and universities laboured about *ens rationis, notiones secundæ, chimæra,* etc., and innumerable empty matters ! O how much has man's acuteness and industry been employed about what neither betters us for faith or manners ! What canglings about moonshines, and contests for our own shadows ! *Quot pugnæ pro umbra asini !* What stir about infinity, *compositio continui ;* and yet let sober, impartial persons determine what use accrues of them in all our lifetime, what better or wiser are we for knowing them ? What worse though we had never known them ? All the great bustlings about them is wittiness about nothing ; and yet what volumes written, what stiff debates, what arguings, what replies, what glorying and bragging about the indissolubility of arguments, which it matters not whether they hold or not ! and yet these are reputed the great scholars, profound philosophers who are subtile in these things ; and yet how empty are they for use. If they be pretended to sharpen, sure they make them rather contentiously quick, than solidly judicious ; they make them

nominally subtile, where plainness should be followed. Did not the dialectical subtilties of Thomas, Scotus, and the rest of them, make way to turn all divinity full of airy subtilties and speculations? What logomachies, paradoxes, contests about words, what high-sounding axioms and definitions, which, however they made a great noise, yet looked to more narrowly, were but empty sounds, words without substance! the weight of them depending on their unintelligible obscurity! . . . . . What catches at words in the sophisms, whereof many were fitter to move laughter amongst children, than to be made the study of sober persons!"

Hugh Rose was the eldest son of David Rose, proprietor of Earlsmill, and was called to Nairn, to be colleague and successor to the excellent David Dunbar. His call, signed by the heritors and elders, most of whom are clansmen of his own, is given in the volume of the Kilravock Papers, published by the Spalding Club. It is an interesting document, not exactly in accordance with our modern Styles of Procedure in the Church Courts of Scotland, but hearty in tone, and warmly appreciative of Master Hugh. Judging by his works already referred to, he was a scholarly man, of moderate abilities. Lord Brodie records that he heard him preach on one occasion, "albeit his gifts be not great, and that he be in the common defection." His brother James was Town-Clerk of Nairn. Another brother, Alexander, became minister of Cairnie, under the bishops, in 1680, conformed to Presbytery in 1710, and was deposed in 1716 for reading the Pretender's Proclamation.

NOTE G.—PAGE 98.

MARKS OF CONVERSION.

EXTRACTED from a document in the Appendix to Stevenson's Life of Hogg, "containing an abstract of Mr Hogg's manner of dealing with persons under conviction."

"1. Whether (which is chiefly decisive in this matter) the mind was enlightened to know Christ as He is offered in the

Gospel, as our prophet, priest, and king, as made of God unto us wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption. (1 Cor. i. 30.) But more especially His character, as 'The Lord our Righteousness' (Jer. xxiii. 6), hath its peculiar relation unto the lost, miserable, and undone situation, wherein the sinner findeth himself at the time? (2 Cor. iv. 6; Acts xxvi. 18.)

"2. Whether the soul hath been drawn forth by invincible power to close with the person of Christ, as standing in a marriage relation to Him, and to receive and rest upon Him, not only as the Saviour in general, but as his Saviour in particular? according to John i. 12; Heb. x. 39; Isa. xxvi. 3; etc.

"3. Whether the poor tossed sinner hath found somewhat of quiet rest in pointing this way under Christ's drawing, after all his legal resolutions, prayers, fasting, vows, etc., had utterly failed? (Matt. xi. 28-30; Luke xv. 16-18; Psa. lxxxix. 19; Jer xvii. 5, 6; Acts iv. 12; Heb. iv. 3.)

"4. Whether, according to the measure of the knowledge that the person hath got of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ, a pleasant sense of gratitude, and impression of the love of Christ, have strongly and sweetly engaged the soul to the whole of new obedience, without exception or reserve? (Psa. xviii. 1; and cxvi. 1; 2 Cor. v. 14.) And,

"5. Whether, under all subsequent burden by sin, of whatsoever sort, or by the fruits of the same, the main propensity of the soul be to seek ease and relief in the humble acknowledgment of guilt before the Lord, and by faith imploring pity and pardon for Christ's sake alone? (Psa. xxxii. 2-5; Prov. xxviii. 13; 1 John i. 9; Hos. v. 15; Lev. xxvi 40-42.)

"But, upon the whole, it was Mr Hogg's opinion, that in judging of soul-exercise, we should have a special respect to the issues, for that it is very difficult, if at all possible, before the respective issues, to fix the difference betwixt what is right and kindly, and that which may issue in a further strengthening of Satan's kingdom. (Luke xi. 24-26.) Much depends upon the cool, or cure, of these soul fevers, which will prove either health or ruin to the patient, if sovereign

and free mercy set not matters right again. (John xvi. 8, 9.) Conviction of sin is best verified by the subsequent conviction of righteousness and that again by conviction of judgment.

NOTE H.—PAGE 137.

M'KILLICAN'S DIARY.

IN reference to John M'Killican, Wodrow writes (History, Book III., chap. vii.):—"His Diary, of which I have but short hints sent me, by which, if I might be allowed to judge, the Church appears at a loss that more of it is not published, discovers many sweet days of communion with his Master, he had in that barren rock. Among the quotations which he gives are the following—*Bass, November* 1683. —This was a day of sweet outpouring of the Spirit: I hope good will follow. Many sweet and apposite places of Scripture, both in reading and prayer, was I trysted with concerning myself, children, the people and work of God, and enemies. 'The daughter of Babylon will come down, and sit in the dust; there will be no throne for her; her nakedness will be uncovered; vengeance will overtake her; He will not meet her as a man. She trusts in her wickedness; desolation will suddenly come upon her; but the Lord will place salvation in Zion for Israel His glory.'

"*Bass, Sept.* 23, 1684.—This day I got my heart poured out before the Lord, for the distress, destruction, and desolation of the land, and for the overthrow and ruin of His interest. The Lord will have mercy and heal, recover His own glory, reform His Church, restore His ordinances, purge His servants, and cause sacrifice to be offered in righteousness to Himself. The Lord will send the rod of His strength out of Zion, He will rule in the midst of His enemies. He hath drank of the brook in the way, and therefore hath He lifted up His head, and is exalted far above all principalities and powers. He will strike with His right hand, and with it bring back the ark and the glory, and cause days of joy and gladness to be according to the days of sorrow and sadness we have seen."

Commenting on these sentences, the historian adds:—"Such were the comforts, the hopes, the expectations and exercises of this saint of God, upon whom the spirit of God and glory rested. Multitudes of passages might be added, but these may suffice to let us in to see, that the Church of Christ, and in this land in particular, is in the debt of these worthy sufferers I am doing some justice to in this work, not only for their testimony to the common Faith and Truth, not only for their pattern and example, but which is less observed, for the many suits and prayers they tabled, and left in the bank of heaven. And I make no question but the Revolution, and the wonderful providences since, and the good done by this Gospel, and to be done, are in part the fruits of the many days of prayer, wrestling, solitary fastings, yea of secret thanksgiving and praise, by the persons I am now accounting for, in prisons, in rocks, irons, mountains, and their hidings and wanderings."

NOTE I.—PAGE 140.

MARRYING WITHOUT PROCLAMATION OF BANNS

As illustrative of the difficulties in all the relations of life in which their conscientious objections to Episcopacy involved the nonconformists, the following extract from Nimmo's Memoirs may be given. His contract of marriage was settled, but, says he, "A difficulty arose anent our being proclaimed, which was like to trouble both of us, for some of our friends prest we should be proclaimed at the church by the Episcopal precentor, in which neither of us had freedom; and after trying of several outed ministers to marry us without proclamation, they refused for fear of danger. Yet blessed Mr Hogg, though under bond to answer the King's Council when called, condescended to do it, seeing others had refused, and appointed Monday morning, December 4th, for that end, when I advertised some godly friends to be witnesses, where, at Mr Hogg's own house it was solemnized, when the Lord did evidence His presence to the conviction of severals."—Pp. 53, 54.

For their own and Mr Hogg's safety, Nimmo and his wife lived separate for some time.

NOTE J.—PAGE 141.

ANOTHER THOMAS HOGG.

NIMMO writes:—"Before we came from Scotland, there had come a line from Mr Hogg, giving account of his being safe at Rotterdam, to whom, when landed (4th December 1685), we went, and staid with him some few nights, till we got the foresaid chamber; and, indeed, he and his wife were our parents to their power." On the 20th October, 1686, Nimmo having domestic anxieties, observes,—"Our blest father and friend, Mr Hogg, was gone the term of Whitsunday before to the Hague, where I some time went, and as his company and advice was refreshing, so my going there was refreshing. Even in this place (Rotterdam) the fugitives from Britain were not without danger from the enemy, for some were without order griped, put aboard and sent for England, and there hanged, some alledged murdered! in that place where we were, some attacked by violence with sword in hand, to be carried off, and they defending themselves, resisting force with force, in wounds and blood, till the magistrates of Rotterdam took and imprisoned both till examined, and by the mob forced to justice, albeit inclinable enough of themselves; and some of these attackers were in prison when the Prince of Orange came over at the happy Revolution. And sometimes there was a search procured by King James from the States, but they kindly gave some advertisement, that Scots people might be on their guard, as particularly one for Sir James Stewart, who narrowly escaped by the importunity of old Mr Hogg (not Thomas Hogg of Kiltearn, but John Hogg, referred to below), in whose house he was that he would go out, having heard that the search, which put us all in alarm, was to be that night."—Nimmo's *Memoirs*.

In the session-house of the Scotch Church at Rotterdam, is shown a painting in oil of a Mr Hog, one of the earlier ministers of the church. On the strength of this it has been

assumed that Thomas Hogg of Kiltearn was associated with M'Ward in the pastorate of that congregation. But this is a mistake, though not an unnatural one. We learn from Steven's History of the Scots Church of Rotterdam, that the portrait in question represents John Hog, second minister of the church, with whom M'Ward was associated as colleague in 1676. Curiously enough, however, there was a Thomas Hog in the ministry of that congregation, and he was a man who was not altogether unworthy of being confounded with Thomas Hogg of Kiltearn. He was a son of Thomas Hog, minister of the united parishes of Larbert and Dunipace, and nephew of John Hog, whom he assisted for six months of the year 1679. He returned to Scotland after Bothwell Bridge, but had to seek refuge again in Holland, where he landed in 1681. He soon acquired Dutch, and was appointed master of the Latin school of Turgoes. He ministered to congregations of his countrymen at Delft and Campvere successively. From Campvere he was translated to Rotterdam in 1699. The reputation in which he was held is evidenced by the fact that he received calls from Clackmannan, Ayr, and Culross, was solicited to become Professor of Divinity in King's College, Aberdeen, and was offered a Theological Professorship in one of the Dutch Universities. From a letter of his to Mr Fraser of Brea, then minister of Culross, it appears that he would have responded to the earnest appeal of his friend to become his colleague and successor, were it not for difficulties about his status. The Church of the Revolution Settlement neglected to pass a "Mutual Eligibility Act" in favour of the Dutch Reformed Church, with which the Scotch Church of Rotterdam was incorporated, and therefore, his Dutch ordination being ignored, Mr Hog, to be admitted to a charge in Scotland, would require to knock at the door of the Church in the humble guise of a probationer, and that he declined to do. He corresponded frequently with James Nimmo on the return of that gentleman to Scotland. In one of his letters he expresses his strong disapproval of the union between England and Scotland, then under consideration, anticipating disastrous consequences to the Church of Scotland. "The ruin of your Church as now established," he writes, "is in-

evitable if once ye become England's tail, to be moved by them as their prelatic and proud spirit may think fit for their interest or their pleasure." He died in 1723. Stevens gives the following estimate of his character:—"At home and abroad he was respected for his piety, talent, and worth. If his imaginative powers were not remarkable, there was much of solidity and good sense in his intellectual character. Of his abilities as a divine and scholar we possess very honourable evidence." His family became naturalised in Holland, and numerous descendants of his—some of them spelling their names Hoog, and others Huig,—have attained to distinction in Church and State.

NOTE K.—PAGE 150.

PRINGLE OF TORWOODLEE, AND PRINGLE OF GREENKNOWE.

GEORGE PRINGLE of Torwoodlee, "a gentleman of fine spirit, and singularly religious," according to Wodrow, is several times referred to in the Brodie Diary. An account of his sufferings, written by his son, is preserved in the pages of Wodrow. It is a well-written narrative, and the historian of the sufferings persuades himself "the reader will not weary of it;" but we must content ourselves with an abridgment:—George Pringle of Torwoodlee, in the shire of Forrest, represented a family that had the honour and happiness to be among the first who publicly owned and stood up for our holy Reformation from Popery in that country; and through the several descents of it since, they have adhered to the same Reformation rights, under all attacks from the bloody designs of Papists, or the violent encroachments of the Episcopal clergy and their abettors." Informing us that he was fined for refusing the ensnaring oaths of allegiance and supremacy the statement says:—"Mr Pringle, from the year 1662 to 1681, lived in a close retirement from all public business. Though he did not conform to Prelacy, yet he had no share in those struggles for religion and liberty at Pentland and Bothwell. His house was a sanctuary for all the

distressed that came to him, and these were neither few nor of the meanest quality; but as the measures for our slavery quickened, so did the troubles of honest men. The establishment of the succession to the Crown upon James, then Duke of York, gave a clear view to all thinking people what was to be the fate of our religion and liberty. The oath called the Test was to be the Shibboleth of that time. The known trial of the Earl of Argyll needs not to be here repeated; but the escape of that great and good patriot opened a new scene of trouble to Mr Pringle. My Lord came to his house, or near by it, the night of his escape. His just haste to be out of the way had given him no time to provide either horses, or money sufficient for what was fit for him to do. Mr Pringle served him in both, and furnished him with a trusty servant that knew the roads, who carried him into England; but both horses and rider were known before he got out of the country. . . . . There was (now) no safety for Torwoodlee at his own house, which obliged him to seek his lodging in several retirements (we know from the Brodie Diary that he was hiding for some time in Moray), which were kept so close, by God's goodness to him, and the faithfulness of those about him, that he could not be found out. . . . . Meldrum and Hayning having fined Mr Pringle for church irregularities, exacted 5000 merks Scots from him, with a promise of security against any further persecution; or if he were, that that sum should be allowed in the first payment. The receipt is yet in his son's hands. But within some weeks, they being sharply reproved by the managers of our ruin, he was again cited before them, and fined in £2000 sterling."

"But the pretended plot (the Rye-House Plot) being trumped up, whereby Russell, Essex, Sidney, and others, were executed in England, and Jerviswood, that worthy patriot, in Scotland, Mr Pringle was sought for as concerned in it. . . . He escaped to Holland, that happy receptacle for the distressed of all nations. But to heighten his family's sufferings, about eight days after there came a party to his house, where they seized his son, who had been abroad at the first search, a youth then of sixteen years, and carried him to

Edinburgh, where he was shut up in prison for more than three months, without the least crime laid to his charge. But the prison came to be so crowded before that time elapsed, that he was admitted to the exorbitant bail of £5000 sterling, though still confined to the liberties of Edinburgh, and in two months more was ordered to attend the Secret Committee, that Court of Inquisition of those days where, by the Duke of Queensberry, Lord High Treasurer, he was threatened with having every bone in his body broken, every joint disjointed, his flesh ript up, and boiling oil and lead poured into him, if he did not acquaint them who informed his father of the party's coming—a barbarous office for a son to turn witness against his father!—and the executioner was accordingly brought. But upon second thoughts his punishment was turned to three or four weeks' close imprisonment in the Castle of Edinburgh, where none were admitted to see him, or speak with him, except his keepers, or what was worse, the chaplain of the garrison; and so he was admitted a second time to a £5000 bail."

"It was fit now King Charles should die, and his brother succeeds; upon which follows Queensberry's Parliament, where the finishing stroke was given to the nation's liberty, and the king's dispensing power established by law, and these bloody and detestable statutes enacted, that are, to the indelible infamy of the projectors, a scandal to the Protestant name, a terror to that age, and a warning, it is hoped, to all posterity, of the native tendency of absolute power, and indefeasible right. All that were processed before were forfeited, among whom was Torwoodlee, who, among the rest of the *malheurs* of his forfeiture, had the misfortune to be betrayed by his friend in London. . . . . Meanwhile Torwoodlee made another escape to Holland, after the miscarriage of the Earl of Argyll's design to save his nation. At that time his son was searched for by a party a second time, notwithstanding of the £5000 bail; but he offered himself to the Government, and was confined for three months in Blackness, where he was barbarously treated by the governor, Livingstone of Bedlormie." After recounting

similar sufferings on the part of other members of Torwoodlee's family, his son concludes his statement thus :—"Whatever inward supports Mr Pringle may have had during his difficulties, I shall not pretend to tell the world; but I cannot forbear to mention the heroic spirit of his lady, who in most of all the parts of his trials gave him an account of their approach; and this not to affright or deter him from suffering for his country's interest, but to arm and prepare him for what he was to undergo. She bore all her difficulties with an unexampled serenity and evenness of temper; one evidence of which was, when the harpies of that time came and seized her estate, set her lands and rummaged her house, her only son lay upon her hands, despaired of by the physicians, and her husband in hazard of a public death, for his firm adherence to the good old cause, she showed such contentment and acquiescence under all those complicated disasters, as is rarely to be found; and in her darkest night, rejoiced in the faith and hope of those days she lived to see after the Revolution. She was a daughter of Brodie of Lethen, in the north of Scotland, a name well known for a staunch attachment to their country's interest. She and Mr Pringle were happy together in their mutual love. After the storm had blown over, he died July 1689, among the midst of his friends, regretted even by his enemies. His lady outlived him a year and some months, and left the world without pain or sickness; both of them rare examples of conjugal love, Christian patience, and an unshaken steadiness to a good interest."

Torwoodlee's son-in-law, Walter Pringle of Green-knowe, and his wife, both suffered on account of their attachment to the good cause. The husband was banished, in 1662, to Elgin, and confined to that town till 1666. At first he was immured in the tolbooth, but for the greater part of the time he was a prisoner on parole, lodged in a private house, and permitted to walk a mile beyond the bounds of the city. In a series of letters to his children, recounting his sufferings, he mentions that his favourite walk was by the banks of the Lossie.

NOTE L.—PAGE 152.

THE FIERY CROSS IN MORAY.

THE occasion referred to in the text was probably the last on which the Fiery Cross was seen in the Lowlands of Moray, though it may have made many a circuit through the Braes of Badenoch and Lochaber during the Rebellions of 1715 and 1745.

The following extracts, selected from the depositions of the persons examined by the Commissioners, may interest local readers. It is not necessary to inform such that the Kinnairds, whose evidence is given first, were proprietors of that fair domain, once "the Garden of Moray," which is now a dreary waste of sand-hills, stretching from the mouth of the Findhorn to the "Old Bar" of the Nairn.

"Alexander Kinnaird of Culbin, depones, that about the time they were going out to the king's host, there was a report and alarm raised, as if the Macdonalds were coming down to invade the country; whereupon there was a meeting of the gentry convened at Auldearn, amongst whom his father was one, and that there Lethen took out a letter, which, he said, came from Strathspey, which informed him that the Macdonalds were coming down; whereupon the gentlemen took care for their security, and his father closed up his papers in a stone wall: Depones, About that time there came a fiery cross through the country, which gave them the same alarm, and that there was no such thing as the Macdonalds coming down, but all was done on design to keep the people from going out to the king's host.

"ALEX. KINNAIRD."

"Thomas Kinnaird, elder, of Culbin, being solemnly sworn, depones, That there was a meeting of the gentry convened at Auldearn, by Lethen at which most of the gentlemen in that part of the country were present, and there Lethen produced a letter, which, he said, had come from Strathspey, from Grant, which informed him that the Macdonalds were coming down to invade the country, and there he proposed and advised that the gentlemen should stay at home and guard the country, and not go out to the king's

host: Depones, the letter was read, and he remembers there was this expression in it, 'that Macdonald said he should dine at Brodie and sup at the sea-side,' which affrighted the country; and that, at the same time, there went a fiery cross through the country, which gave the same alarm: Depones, He himself and several of the gentry present, opposed the motion of staying at home, and that, having secured his papers in a stone wall, he and his son, and several of his servants, went out against the rebels: And this is the truth, as he shall answer to God.

"THOMAS KINNAIRD."

Lethen depones, "on his great oath," that he showed the letter, which was from his daughter, to the gentlemen present at a burial in Auldearn; and "thereafter, at a meeting of the gentry of the shires of Nairn and Moray, it was resolved to send Captain Stewart express to the Earl of Moray, to advise what to do; and the Earl of Moray sent an answer, and the militia was ordered to come out with all diligence."

"George Kay, Procurator-Fiscal of Moray, being sworn, upon oath depones, He saw the fiery cross that came, through Moray, the time of the going out of the king's host, as he same came to Elgin; Depones, It was a fiery stick, kindled at both ends, and set upon a pole, and carried in a man's hand, and so affrighted the country, and the town of Elgin, that they kept a guard of thirty men nightly," etc.

"John Proctor, tailor in Elgin, depones, He was the man that carried the fiery cross from this town to Urquhart, and that he got it from the magistrates, and that the man that brought it did alarm the country, as if the Macdonalds were presently coming down to slay them; all which so affrighted the town that they kept strong guards! . . . . Depones, It came from the Kirk of Birney: And this is the truth, etc. —Depones he cannot write,"

"Francis Wiseman, one of the bailies of Elgin, being solemnly sworn, depones, that the very Sabbath before the people went out against the rebels, there came a fiery cross from Birney to Elgin, and that it was talked that it had come from Knockandoch to Birney, and that it alarmed them that Mr Macdonald was presently coming down upon the country,

which so frighted them that they kept strong guards about the town," etc.

"Archibald Grant of Balmholm, solemnly sworn, depones, He lives in Knockandoch parish, and that, at the time the heritors and militia were convening to go out against the rebels at Bothwell Bridge, there came a fiery cross from Kirkdale, which is in Knockandoch parish, down the country, to his house, and from that to Rothes, and down to the sea: Depones, The cross went from house to house, and was changed from hand to hand, to give the quicker alarm, and that the report went with it, that Macdonald was in the hills coming down to invade the country, which strangely affrighted the people, and retarded their going out against the rebels, but the deponent himself went to serve the king's hosts against the rebels: And this is the truth," etc.

The above is given on the authority of the Rev. James Anderson, who has furnished, in an Appendix to his work on the Ladies of the Covenant, the entire body of evidence given before the Commissioners, as it is preserved in the Warrants of the Privy Council.

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OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

"And now, brethren, we have come to the last of our prayer-meetings for this season. Before closing, therefore, I would recommend a few books to have laying on the table beside you that you may keep in mind these prayer meetings, and perhaps too, that you may remember me in your prayers. The deep religious books will come back again and lie on our tables as they lay on our fathers." Let one of these be Jonathan Edward's *Religious Affections*. He was at the top of man-kind—a man of magnificent intellect and seraphic heart. It is a book for a life-time. Next, the *Parable of the Ten Virgins*, by Thomas Shepherd. who was one of the best scholars of England, and founded a college in America that remains to this day As regards its get-up it is a most disorderly book, but it is nevertheless a golden piece. Then there is Richard Baxter's *Saints' Rest*, of which you have heard your mothers speak. I was glad to learn from my friend Mr M'Neill that when he was a boy he had to read it to his father. Breed your boy on good books. A golden book is the *Saints' Rest*. Our own Thomas Boston, too—his *Autobiography* I mean. And Fraser of Brea, the old prisoner of the Bass Rock, Halyburton's *Memoirs*, and Bunyan's *Pilgrims Progress* and *Grace Abounding*. I am not treating you as Sab bath-school children in recommending these. They are unpopular because they are intellectual and for thinking men and women. Take one of the smallest with you when you go on a journey, or a visit, that you may have support in the practice of experimental religion. As you read them your soul will be lifted up on the arms of God's grace and mercy, and if death comes suddenly to you I should be delighted to see some of these on your pillow. Oh! how horrified I am at the books I sometimes see lying on the pillow of a deathbed! I would bury you with hope if I saw some one of the books I have recommended lying on your dying pillow. May God make you all in his own way meet for the inheritance of the saints in light!" —*Dr Whyte in Free St George's, Edinburgh, from Christian Leader, April* 4, 1889.

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on the Bass Rock; but we greatly pity any professed Christian who will not be the better for marking the way of inward tribulation in which the Lord led his faithful servant. We have given in earlier pages, a chapter from this instructive memorial.—C. H. SPURGEON, in *Sword and Trowel*.

Memoirs of the Rev. James Fraser of Brea. Written by himself: with Introductory Note by the Rev. Alexander Whyte, D.D., Edinburgh, and Sketch by the Rev. Gustavus Aird, D.D., Creich. Inverness: Melven Brothers.—Fraser was born in 1639, was a nephew of the Lord Lovat of that time, and was himself heir to the estate of Brea, in the Black Isle. He studied law, but on a religious change taking place, he turned to divinity, and was licensed to preach by the "Field Presbytery" of Moray in 1672. For nearly twenty years he continually suffered persecution, preaching when and where he could, but enduring long imprisonments in the Bass and Blackness, and banishment for a time. After the Revolution he was settled as minister of Culross, and died in 1698 or 1699. Dr Walker of Carnwath, in his "Scottish Theology and Theologians," says—"The name of Fraser of Brea is one well known and precious to many. He was a man of profound piety, full of love and devotion to his Master, for whom, in the days of suffering, he had born an unflinching testimony. None is mentioned with greater respect by his contemporaries among the good men of his time." He left other treatises, but the present is his autobiography. It refers to the outward incidents of his life, but is mainly an account of his inward spiritual experiences and struggles, somewhat akin to the narratives in the same line of Bunyan and Halyburton. Various circumstances lately have revived the interest in Fraser, and the Messrs Melven have done well in issuing this new edition. It is carefully edited, beautifully printed, and neatly got up. Before these later days of centralisation, many an excellent volume was sent forth from Elgin and Inverness; and we trust this partial return to "the old ways" will meet with such encouragement as to warrant other ventures, and do something to revive the publishing enterprise in the north.—*Elgin Courant*

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